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Canadians on the Move

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Focus on Canada

Canadians on the Move

**By: Bali Ram
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Preface

Focus on Canada is a series of publications portraying the people of Canada. The portrait is drawn through the analysis of the data collected by the 1991 Census of Population and Housing. Each publication examines a specific issue and provides a demographic, social, cultural and economic perspective.

The authors of this series have taken special care to make their analysis informative and easy to read. They make use of descriptive graphs and data tables to more clearly illustrate the information. Often the results are compared to previous censuses, showing how Canada and Canadians have changed over time.

The publications were prepared by analysts at Statistics Canada, and reviewed by peers from within the Agency as well as experts from external organizations. I would like to extend my thanks to all the contributors for their role in producing this useful and interesting publication.

I would like to express my appreciation to the millions of Canadians who completed their questionnaires on June 4, 1991. Statistics Canada is very pleased to be able to now provide this summary of the results. I hope you enjoy reading this study – and the others in this series.

Ivan P. Fellegi
Chief Statistician of Canada



Contents

Highlights	1
Introduction	3
Chapter 1. How Mobile are Canadians?	7
Chapter 2. Who are the Movers?	13
Young Adults are the Most Mobile	13
Separated and Divorced People are the Most Mobile; Single, Married and Widowed the Least	16
Educated People Move More Often and Farther	17
Chapter 3. Some Cultural Dimensions of Geographic Mobility	19
Francophones are Less Mobile Interprovincially but More Mobile Intraprovincially	19
Immigrants are More Mobile than the Canadian-born Population	21
Chapter 4. Some Economic Dimensions of Migration	25
Migrants are Slightly Less Likely to be Unemployed than Non-migrants	25
Men Benefit Economically More than Women by Migrating	26

Contents (continued)

Chapter 5. Interprovincial Migration	31
British Columbia Remains an Attractive Destination	31
A Few Gain at the Expense of Most Others	33
Newfoundland and Saskatchewan Experienced Large Losses of Highly Educated People	36
Migrants Differ from Non-migrants in Terms of their Occupations	37
Migration of Anglophones from Quebec has Slowed Down	41
Chapter 6. Rural-Urban and Metropolitan-Non-metropolitan Migration	45
Reversal of Rural-Urban Migration Continues	45
Non-metropolitan Turnaround Pervades	47
Conclusion	53
Appendix Tables	55
List of Tables	
2.1 Median Age of Population Aged 5 Years and Over by Mobility Status and Sex, Canada, 1991	16
2.2 Percent Distribution of Population Aged 15 Years and Over by Mobility Status, Showing Highest Level of Education, Canada, 1991	18
3.1 Percent Distribution of Population Aged 5 Years and Over by Mobility Status for Selected Mother Tongue Groups, Canada, Quebec and Rest of Canada, 1986-91	20
3.2 Mobility and Internal Migration Rates (%) for Population Aged 15 Years and Over by Country/Region of Birth, Canada, 1986-91	22
3.3 Age-adjusted Migration Rates (%) for Persons Born Outside Canada by Period of Immigration, Canada, 1986-91	23
4.1 Unemployment Rate (%) for Total Population and Interprovincial Migrants Aged 15 Years and Over, Canada, Provinces and Territories, 1991	26

Contents (continued)

4.2	Total and Employment Income for Persons Aged 20 Years and Over by Mobility and Migration Status and Sex, Canada, 1990	27
4.3	Employment Income of Men and Women Aged 20 Years and Over in Husband-wife Families by Mobility and Migration Status, Canada, 1990 ...	28
4.4	Average Income of Husband-wife Families by Mobility and Migration Status, Adjusted for Age and Education, Canada, 1990	29
5.1	Interprovincial In-, Out- and Net migration Rates (%) for Population Aged 15 Years and Over by Highest Level of Education, Canada, Provinces and Territories, 1981-1986 and 1986-91	38
5.2	Distribution of Population Aged 15 Years and Over by Occupation, Showing Total Population in the Labour Force and Interprovincial Migrants, Canada, 1991	40
5.3	Index of Occupational Dissimilarity between Interprovincial Migrants and Total Population in Labour Force, Canada, 1991	41
5.4	In-, Out- and Net migration for Population Aged 5 Years and Over by Mother Tongue, Quebec, Ontario, Alberta and British Columbia, 1976-81, 1981-86 and 1986-91	43
6.1	Number and Percent Distribution of Rural-urban Migrants Aged 5 Years and Over, Canada, 1971-76, 1976-81, 1981-86 and 1986-91	46
6.2	Metropolitan – Non-metropolitan Migration of Canadian-born Population Aged 5 Years and Over, Canada, 1966-71 to 1986-91	49

List of Charts

1.1	Percent Distribution of Population Aged 5 Years and Over by Mobility Status, Canada, 1956-61 to 1986-91	7
1.2	Percentage of Population 5 Years and Over that Moved, Canada, Provinces and Territories, 1956-61 to 1986-91	9
1.3	Percentage of Population Aged 5 Years and Over, that Migrated from One City to Another, Canada, Provinces and Territories, 1956-61 to 1986-91	10
1.4	Percent Distribution of Population by Current Residence, Province and Territory of Birth, 1991	11
2.1	Percent Distribution of Population Aged 5 Years and Over by Age Group and Mobility Status, Canada, 1986-91	15

Contents (concluded)

2.2	Internal Migration Rates for Population Aged 5 Years and Over by Age Group and Marital Status, Canada, 1986-91	17
5.1	Net Interprovincial Migration, Provinces and Territories, 1976-81, 1981-86 and 1986-91	32
5.2	Largest Interprovincial Migration Flows, Canada, 1976-81	33
5.3	Largest Interprovincial Migration Flows, Canada, 1981-86	34
5.4	Largest Interprovincial Migration Flows, Canada, 1986-91	35
6.1	Population Growth for Census Metropolitan and Non-metropolitan Areas, Canada, 1951-56 – 1986-91	48
6.2	Internal Net Migration Rates, Census Metropolitan Areas, 1981-86 and 1986-91	50

List of Appendix Tables

A.1	Internal Migrants Aged 5 Years and Over by Province or Territory of Previous and Current Residence, Canada, 1976-81	57
A.2a	Mother Tongue of Internal Migrants, Aged 5 Years and Over by Province or Territory of Residence in 1976 and 1981	60
A.2b	Mother Tongue of Internal Migrants, Aged 5 Years and Over by Province or Territory of Residence in 1981 and 1986	63
A.2c	Mother Tongue of Internal Migrants, Aged 5 Years and Over by Province or Territory of Residence in 1986 and 1991	66
A.3a	Intermetropolitan Migrants Aged 5 Years and Over, Census Metropolitan Areas, 1981-86	71
A.3b	Intermetropolitan Migrants Aged 5 Years and Over, Census Metropolitan Areas, 1986-1991	73

Highlights

- Slightly less than half of Canada's population moved at least once between 1986 and 1991. Some 23% moved within the same municipality, 16% between municipalities within the province, and 4% between provinces.
- A large majority of people who were born in Quebec (92%), Ontario (91%) and British Columbia (88%) still live in the same province. Saskatchewan showed the smallest percentage, with 59% still living in the province. An even smaller proportion remained in the Yukon (47%).
- The median age of those who moved from one province to another was 29.9, compared to 30.6 years old for those who moved from one city to another in the same province, or from one dwelling to another within the same city. The median age of those who didn't move was 42.3.
- The proportion of Canadians who moved between 1986 and 1991 increased with the level of education; from 30% for those with less than nine years of schooling to 56% among those with a university degree.
- The overall mobility rate was highest among multilingual people (51%), followed closely by those whose mother tongue was neither English nor French (50%), or those whose mother tongue is both English and French (49%). Anglophones were next, at 47%, while Francophones were at the lowest end of the scale, at 43%.
- British Columbia remains an attractive destination. Between 1986 and 1991, the province experienced a net gain of 126,000 persons. Ontario was also a popular province, gaining 47,000 persons through migration.
- Alberta was the most important attraction for Canadian migrants during 1976-81. At the height of its oil boom, this province attracted 126,730 people from Ontario. Between 1981 and 1986, the three largest flows were from Quebec to Ontario (90,975), Alberta to Ontario (70,420) and Alberta to British Columbia (64,350).

- During the 1986-91 period, British Columbia received 92,580 persons from Alberta alone, the largest number of people to move from any one province or territory to another during that period. The second-largest flow was from Quebec to Ontario, at 72,780 persons.
- Between 1976 and 1981, Quebec experienced a net loss of 106,000 Anglophones. In recent years, the net out-migration of Anglophones from Quebec has slowed down to 41,000 during 1981-86, and 22,000 during 1986-91.
- Although the majority of Quebec's population is Francophone (81% in 1991), the province has not attracted large numbers of Francophones from other parts of Canada. In fact, Quebec experienced a net loss of 18,000 Francophones during 1976-81 and 12,000 during 1981-86, and a net gain of 5,500 during 1986-91.
- From 1981 to 1986, metropolitan areas experienced a net gain of 171,000 persons resulting from out-migration from non-metropolitan areas. During 1986-91, the pattern reversed, with 63,000 more people moving out of metropolitan areas than moving in.
- Oshawa, Victoria, Kitchener, Ottawa-Hull and Vancouver were seen as the most attractive destinations of migrants in the 1980s. These metropolitan areas experienced the largest increases in net migration rates over the two intercensal periods, 1981-86 and 1986-91.

Introduction

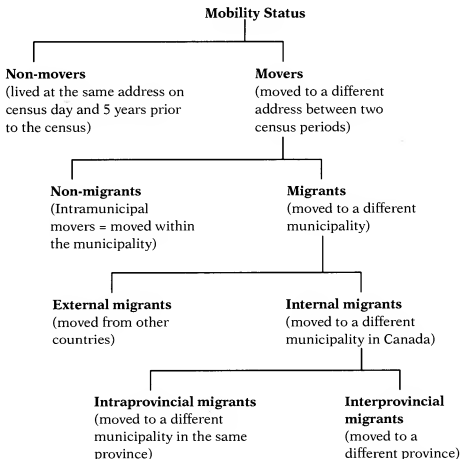
Canadians are among the most mobile people in the industrialized world. Every year, hundreds of thousands of people change their residence, moving from one province to another, from one city to another, or from one house to another in the same city. With fertility and mortality having reached significantly low levels and now being rather stabilized, geographic mobility has become a critical source of regional, provincial, municipal and local population change.

Information on migration, which has been collected in the Canadian censuses since 1961, is important to all levels of government, as well as to municipal planners and various private-sector businesses, in determining future needs for such things as housing, education, social services and employment. Using census data, this study attempts to present some recent trends and patterns of mobility of Canadians.

Before going into a discussion of the results, it may be useful to define what is meant by **mobility**. In the Canadian censuses, this concept is measured by comparing a person's usual place of residence on census day with residence on the same day five years earlier. (The 1991 Census marked the first time that a question on the place of residence one year earlier was included.) If someone's place of residence five years prior to the census was different from his/her residence on the census day, then this person was designated as a mover or migrant.

Canadians were classified into one of several categories, according to their mobility or migration status. For example, people were classified as non-movers if they lived at the same address at the two points in time, and as movers if they lived at a different address at the earlier date. The movers were divided further into non-migrants (hereafter referred to as intramunicipal movers) and migrants, depending on whether or not they moved across the boundary of a municipality. The migrants were again split into two categories: internal and external, depending on whether they crossed the Canadian border. (External migration is not examined in this study.) There are two types of internal migrants: intraprovincial and interprovincial. These concepts are summarized below in the box covering mobility status.

Census Typology of Mobility and Migration Status



An obvious limitation of the census data on mobility and migration is the fact that not all moves are counted. For instance, in using the data on place of residence on census day and place of residence five years prior, only one move for every individual is counted, even if one had moved numerous times during the five-year period. Also excluded are the moves of people who died, and those of people who returned to their original place of residence after having lived somewhere else during the five-year period. Since there is no reason to think that the patterns of uncounted moves vary from one census to another, the data presented in this study should provide an accurate portrayal of mobility trends. It should be noted that unless otherwise stated, all mobility and migration data shown for a particular census (e.g., 1991) refer to the five-year period preceding that date (e.g., 1986-91).

Chapter 1 of this study examines the extent of Canadians' mobility and migration since 1961 at the national, provincial and territorial levels. Chapter 2 presents a discussion on the selective character of migration. Basically, it shows that migrants differ from non-migrants in terms of their age, sex, marital status and education. The cultural dimensions of geographic mobility are discussed in Chapter 3. Two topics are dealt with: mother tongue and immigration status. Chapter 4 examines two economic aspects of migration: unemployment and income. Particular attention is given to the impact of migration on various measures of income by sex.

Interprovincial migration, both in terms of magnitude and direction of the movement, is the subject of Chapter 5. It focusses on how much specific provinces and territories have gained or lost their populations through migration over the years. Chapter 6 presents some patterns of rural-urban and metropolitan-nonmetropolitan migration, and the final section presents some conclusions and implications.

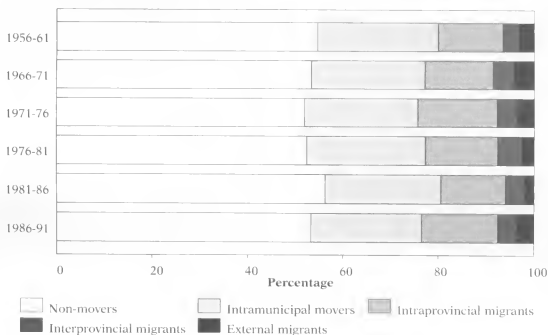


Chapter 1

How Mobile are Canadians?

In 1991, 47% of Canadians 5 years of age and over lived at a different address from the one at which they lived in 1986, indicating that slightly less than half of Canada's population had moved at least once in this five-year period. As shown in **Chart 1.1**, this proportion has changed very little since 1961, ranging between 44% and 48%. It appears that over each five-year census period, almost half of the population moves from one neighbourhood, town, city, province or territory to another.

Chart 1.1
Percent Distribution of Population Aged 5 Years and Over by Mobility Status, Canada, 1956-61 to 1986-91



Sources: Statistics Canada, *Mobility Status and Interprovincial Migration*. 1986 Census of Canada, Catalogue No. 93-108, Table 1;
Statistics Canada, *Mobility and Migration*. 1991 Census of Canada, Catalogue No. 93-322, Table 1A.

During 1986-91, 23% of the population moved within the same municipality, 16% moved between municipalities within the same province, and 4% moved between provinces. The data show then that most Canadians who change residence are involved in short-distance moves, and the rate of mobility declines with the increase in the distance of the movement. Although no direct measure of the distance moved can be obtained from the Canadian censuses, it appears that the rate of mobility declines, as the distance involved increases, on the average, from movement within the same municipality through movement between municipalities, to movement between provinces.

The percentage of people moving within the same municipality has been quite stable since 1961, ranging from 23% to 25%, whereas the proportion moving between municipalities within the same province has varied between 17% and 22%. The percentage of movers varies widely from one province or territory to another. As shown in **Chart 1.2**, people in the Atlantic provinces were the least mobile in any particular period under study. During 1986-91, the percentage of movers was lowest in Newfoundland, with only 28% of people in that province having changed their residence at least once. This percentage has become larger for the provinces in the east from Newfoundland up to and including Quebec, where the extent of mobility was slightly below the national average.

In the west, only Manitoba and Saskatchewan showed a proportion of movers below the national average, while other western provinces and territories were above the national average. The most mobile were people in the Yukon and Northwest Territories, about 65% of whom moved during 1986-91. Among the provinces, British Columbia and Alberta have always had substantially higher proportions of the population that have been mobile.

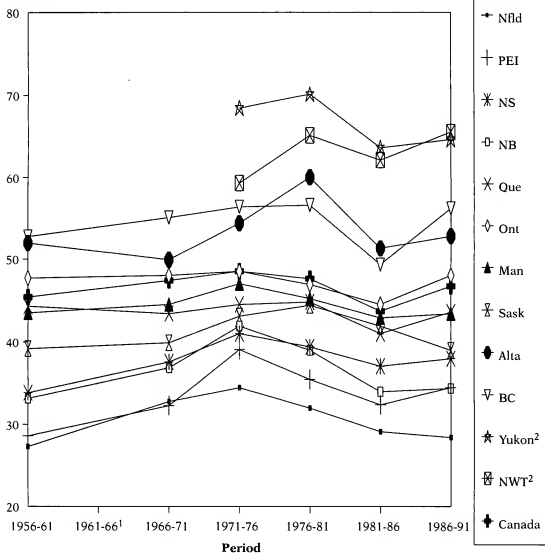
There are also substantial differences among regions in terms of internal migration. As shown in **Chart 1.3**, the percentage of the population who migrated from one municipality to another during 1986-91 ranged from 13% for Manitoba and Newfoundland, to 33% for the Yukon. Among the provinces, British Columbia had the largest proportion of internal migrants at 26%, twice the level of Manitoba and Newfoundland.

With only a few exceptions, the percentages of internal migrants in each province seem to be rather stable over time. For example, among the people living in Alberta at the time of each census, about 20% crossed municipal boundaries, either within or outside the province. During the oil boom of 1976-81, the province exhibited an exceptionally high level of internal migration (30%), resulting from a large influx of in-migrants from other parts of the country.

Chart 1.2

Percentage of Population Aged 5 Years and Over, That Moved, Canada, Provinces and Territories, 1956-61 to 1986-91

Percentage



Notes: 1. Data are not available for 1961-66 period.

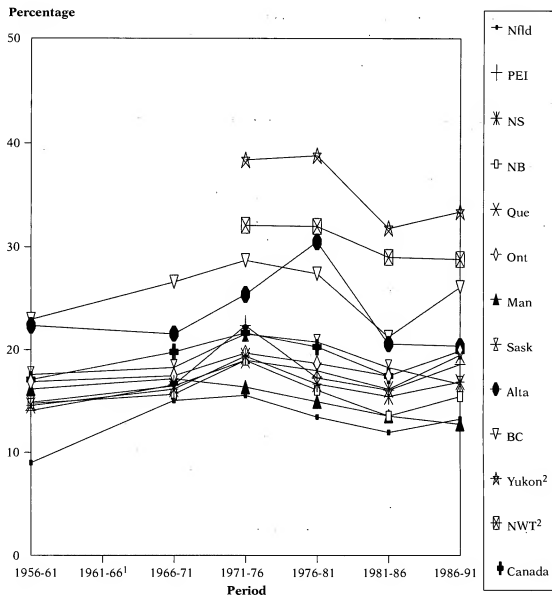
2. Data are not available for Yukon and NWT prior to 1971-76 period.

Sources: Statistics Canada, *Mobility Status and Interprovincial Migration*. 1986 Census of Canada, Catalogue No. 93-108, Table 1;

Statistics Canada, *Mobility and Migration*. 1991 Census of Canada, Catalogue No. 93-322, Table 1A.

Chart 1.3

Percentage of Population 5 Years and Over, That Migrated From One City to Another, Canada, Provinces and Territories, 1956-61 to 1986-91



Notes: 1. Data are not available for 1961-66 period.

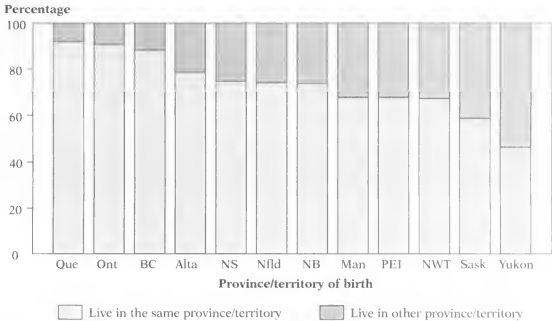
2. No data are available for Yukon and NWT prior to 1971-76.

Sources: Statistics Canada, *Mobility Status and Interprovincial Migration*. 1986 Census of Canada, Catalogue No. 93-108, Table 1;

Statistics Canada, *Mobility and Migration*. 1991 Census of Canada, Catalogue No. 93-322, Table 1A.

Lifetime migration, which is defined as a movement of an individual from the place of birth to the place of current residence, is another way of looking at the geographic mobility of the Canadian population. According to this indicator, a large majority of people who were born in Quebec (92%), Ontario (91%) and British Columbia (88%) still live in the same province, as shown in **Chart 1.4**. But much a smaller proportion of those born in the Yukon (47%) remained in that territory. Among the provinces, Saskatchewan showed the smallest percentage, with 59% still living in the province.

Chart 1.4
Percent Distribution of Population(1) by Current Residence, Province and Territory of Birth, 1991



(1) Excludes immigrants

Source: Statistics Canada, **Immigration and Citizenship**. 1991 Census of Canada, Catalogue No. 93-316, Table 1.

Chapter

2

Who are the Movers?

It is well known that certain types of people are more likely to move than others, and that some people tend to move longer distances than others. This chapter examines this phenomenon in terms of age, sex, marital status and education.

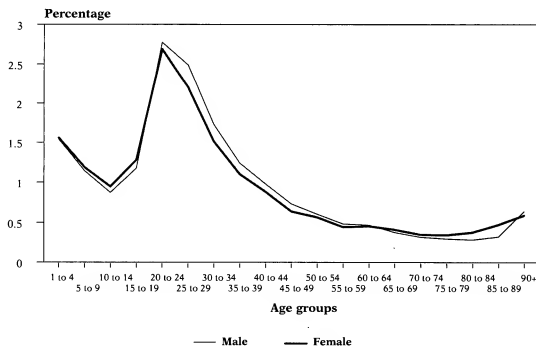
Young Adults are the Most Mobile

People in their twenties and thirties form the most mobile group (**see Box, “Age Patterns of Migration, Canada, 1990-1991”**). This group usually includes people leaving home for education, those leaving school to become part of the work force, those leaving the parental home to set up their own households, and young couples without children or with preschool children in search of better economic opportunities. In Canada, mobility peaks among people in the four age groups 20 to 24, 25 to 29, 30 to 34 and 35 to 39, as shown in **Chart 2.1**. The propensity to move declines steadily with age, reaching a minimum among those 65 and over. Only two out of every ten in this group moved during 1986-91. Mobility is slightly higher among the very old, compared with that among the not-so-old. Younger children of preschool age are also highly mobile, which is to be expected since they move along with their parents, who are usually in the early years of economic life.

Age Patterns of Migration, Canada, 1990-1991

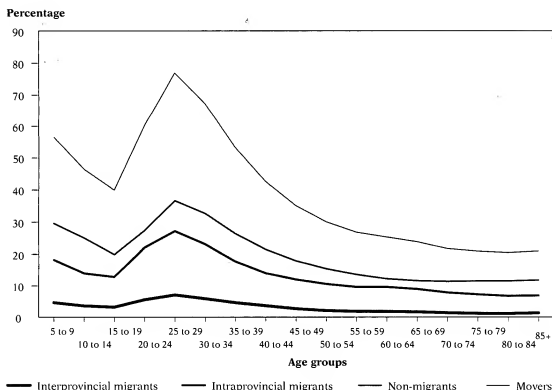
Since age is measured at the end of the five-year migration interval, the age patterns of mobility and migration presented in this study do not reflect the ages at which people actually move. A more accurate picture of this phenomenon can be obtained from the data derived from the question on the place (province or territory) of residence one year ago, which were collected for the first time in 1991. According to this information, which refers only to the one-year period 1990-91, interprovincial migration peaks in the 20 to 24 age group, as shown in the figure below.

Interprovincial Migration Rates (%) for Population Aged 1 Year and Over by Age Group and Sex, Canada, 1990-91



Source: 1991 Census of Canada, unpublished tabulations.

Chart 2.1
Percent Distribution of Population Aged 5 Years and Over by Age Group and
Mobility Status, Canada, 1986-91



Source: 1991 Census of Canada, unpublished tabulations.

Age patterns of migration are closely associated with the distance moved. Younger people are more likely to make long-distance moves, as most of them have smaller families and fewer economic liabilities. Middle-aged people, most of whom may have stable employment, own their homes and have school-aged children, are less likely to move long distances. These patterns are reflected in the lower median age (29.9 years) among those who moved from one province to another, compared with those who moved from one city to another in the same province (30.6 years) or from one dwelling to another within the same city (30.6 years). The median age for non-movers is relatively high, at 42.3 years (**Table 2.1**). It may be of interest to note that on the average, women tend to migrate at slightly younger ages than men. This is to be expected, since women usually marry at younger ages than men and consequently leave their parental home earlier.

Table 2.1**Median Age of Population Aged 5 Years and Over by Mobility Status and Sex, Canada, 1991**

Mobility status	Both sexes	Male	Female
Population 5 years and over	35.2	34.6	35.8
Non-movers	42.3	41.2	43.3
Movers	30.4	30.6	30.3
Intramunicipal movers	30.6	30.6	30.5
Internal migrants	30.4	30.7	30.1
Intraprovincial migrants	30.6	30.9	30.2
Interprovincial migrants	29.9	30.1	29.7

Source: 1991 Census of Canada, unpublished tabulations.

Separated and Divorced People are the Most Mobile; Single, Married and Widowed the Least

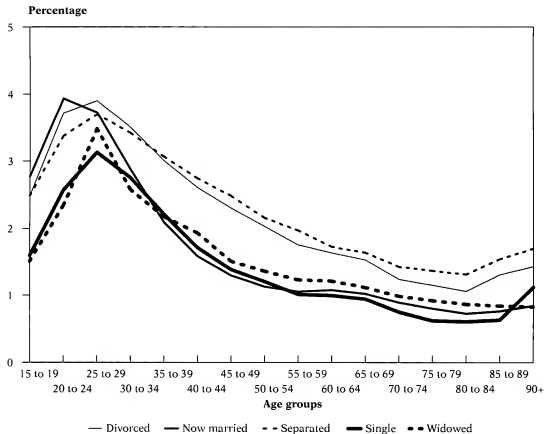
Younger people are highly mobile because they are in the early stages of their family formation and economic life. A number of them take up another residence when they marry and move out of their parental home. Others change their residence because they find their first employment elsewhere. Still others move out of the spousal home because they divorce or separate from their partner.

As shown in **Chart 2.2**, people who are separated or divorced are among the most mobile. Whether they are in the early or late phases of their life, they are very likely to be involved in both short- and long-distance moves. Those who are married, on the other hand, are less mobile. With the advancement of age, migration and mobility rates among married people drop rapidly, making them the least mobile group. The presence of school-aged children, the employment of spouses and other family obligations can exert a profound discouraging effect on the mobility of married people.

Widows and widowers are also less mobile, particularly when long-distance moves are involved. This is not surprising, given that most of them are in the later phases of their life cycle.

Chart 2.2

Internal Migration Rates for Population Aged 5 Years and Over by Age Group and Marital Status, Canada, 1986-91



Source: 1991 Census of Canada, unpublished tabulations.

Contrary to popular belief, single people are among the least mobile. Even at younger ages when most of them are likely to move away from the parental home, their geographic mobility both within the city and between cities remains lower than that of people in other marital categories.

Educated People Move More Often and Farther

Education is perhaps the most important personal characteristic associated with the propensity to move. Better-educated people are not only exposed to information about places that may provide better employment opportunities, but they also have credentials

that are more marketable and therefore transferable to other locations. As shown in **Table 2.2**, the proportion of Canadians who moved from one place to another during 1986-91 increased with the level of education, from the lowest (30%) among those with less than nine years of schooling to the highest (56%) among those with a university degree. Between the two extremes were those with nine to 13 years of schooling (42%), holders of a secondary-school diploma (46%) and those with some post-secondary education (51%).

Table 2.2
Percent Distribution of Population Aged 15 Years and Over by Mobility Status, Showing Highest Level of Education, Canada, 1991

Mobility status	Total	Highest level of education				
		0 to 8 years	9 to 13 years	Secondary school certificate	Some post secondary	University degree+
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Non-movers	54.2	70.1	57.5	54.4	48.9	43.8
Movers ¹	45.8	29.9	42.5	45.6	51.1	56.2
Intramunicipal movers	22.4	16.4	22.9	23.4	23.9	22.9
Internal migrants	19.8	10.7	16.9	18.6	23.5	26.7
Intraprovincial migrants	15.9	9.2	13.6	15.4	19.0	19.8
Interprovincial migrants	3.9	1.4	3.2	3.2	4.6	6.9

1 Including External migrants.

Source: Statistics Canada, *Mobility and Migration*. 1991 Census of Canada, Catalogue No. 93-322, Table 3.

It is interesting to note that there is little relationship between a person's level of education and his or her propensity to move from one house to another within the same city. Individuals with the least schooling—less than nine years—had the lowest intramunicipal mobility rate, at 16%. Among those with nine or more years of education, the mobility rate remained around 24%, regardless of the level of schooling.

Education, however, does have a strong bearing on whether or not people move over distances. The intraprovincial migration rate rose consistently with the level of education: from 9% among those with less than nine years of schooling to 15% among those with a secondary-school certificate and to 20% among those with a university degree. Individuals with the highest educational level were twice as likely to move across municipalities in the same province as those with the lowest educational level. Patterns were even more pronounced among those who had moved from one province to another. These observations clearly suggest that well-educated Canadians are not only more likely to move than less-educated Canadians, but they are also much more likely to be involved in long-distance moves.

Chapter

3

Some Cultural Dimensions of Geographic Mobility

This chapter focusses on differences in migration patterns among the country's various mother tongue, immigrant and native-born populations. It shows that given similar socio-economic circumstances, certain cultural groups are less mobile than others. First, by focussing on migration patterns by mother tongue, we find that Francophones (those whose mother tongue is French only) are less migratory than Anglophones (those whose mother tongue is English only) or Allophones (those whose mother tongue is other than English or French). Second, an examination of the migration patterns of immigrants, reveals that internal migration occurs less frequently among certain nationalities than others, even after their background characteristics are taken into consideration.

Francophones are Less Mobile Interprovincially but More Mobile Intraprovincially

Table 3.1 shows that the extent of mobility varies markedly by mother tongue. According to the 1991 Census, the overall mobility rate was the highest among multilingual people, at 51%, followed closely by those whose mother tongue was neither English nor French (50%), and/or those whose mother tongue is both English and French (49%). Anglophones were next in order, at 47%, while Francophones were at the lowest end of the scale, at 43%. However, the inference that Francophones are the least mobile group does not apply to all the geographic dimensions of mobility. While the proportion of interprovincial migrants was the smallest (1.8%) among Francophones, the proportion of intraprovincial migrants was the largest (18.6%). This observation becomes clearer when we examine the migration patterns of those who lived in Quebec and those who lived elsewhere in Canada.

Table 3.1

Percent Distribution of Population Aged 5 Years and Over by Mobility Status for Selected Mother Tongue Groups, Canada, Quebec and Rest of Canada, 1986-91

Mother tongue	Non-movers	Total movers¹	Intra- municipal movers	Intra- provincial migrants	Inter- provincial migrants
Canada					
Total	53.3	46.7	23.2	15.9	3.9
English only	52.6	47.4	24.4	16.3	5.1
French only	57.2	42.9	22.0	18.6	1.8
Other only	50.4	49.6	20.2	10.4	2.6
English & French	50.8	49.2	24.9	17.0	5.7
All other multiple	49.2	50.9	23.4	12.5	3.0
Quebec					
Total	56.4	43.6	21.9	18.2	1.3
English only	56.8	43.2	20.6	14.6	5.6
French only	57.1	42.9	22.1	19.5	0.8
Other only	50.3	49.7	20.9	9.9	1.3
English & French	53.0	47.0	23.7	19.0	2.9
All other multiple	45.4	54.6	22.5	13.0	1.1
Rest of Canada					
Total	52.3	47.7	23.6	15.2	4.8
English only	52.4	47.6	24.6	16.4	5.1
French only	57.4	42.6	21.1	13.3	7.3
Other only	50.4	49.6	20.0	10.5	2.8
English & French	49.2	50.8	25.9	15.6	7.7
All other multiple	49.8	50.2	23.6	12.5	3.4

(1) Includes external migrants.

Source: 1991 Census of Canada, unpublished tabulations.

Immigrants are More Mobile than the Canadian-born Population

Most immigrants choose a destination in the host country that provides them the least amount of cultural shock and the greatest amount of economic opportunity. However, after having moved into the host country, they may not be as emotionally attached to a certain place as are the native-born. Consequently, immigrants are likely to be more mobile than the native-born. This is also due to the fact that immigrants usually come from the mobile segments of their origin population, while the native-born population includes the non-mobile segments. Thus, as shown in **Table 3.2**, the age-adjusted mobility rate (see box below) involving residential change within the city among immigrants 15 years and over was 27.0%, compared with 23.0% among the Canadian-born. However, immigrants exhibited a lower rate of intermunicipal migration within the province than the Canadian-born (15.5 versus 17.0%), and there was basically no difference between the two groups in terms of their interprovincial migration rates (about 4.0% for both groups).

Adjusted or Standardized Rates

For comparing migratory behaviour of two populations or of a population at two periods, migration and mobility rates have been used. Since these rates vary so much by characteristics such as age and education, comparison of these (crude) rates for two populations or at two periods may result in misleading conclusions, if the populations are very different in their composition by those characteristics. For example, a population heavily composed of young adults will exhibit higher migration rates than a population heavily composed of older people. In this study, migration and mobility rates are usually age- and/or education-adjusted, and thus serve to eliminate the effect of age and/or educational composition. Similar standardization is done also in Chapter 4 when examining the relationship between migration and income.

The preceding analysis assumes that immigrants are a homogeneous group. The fact that immigrants have come from various socio-cultural origins and at different periods in time clearly refutes this assumption. **Table 3.2** shows a large variation among immigrants of various origins. The age-adjusted intraprovincial migration rates were the highest among immigrants from Northern Europe (18.7%), Western Europe (18.2%), and the United States (17.1%); and the lowest among those from Southern Europe (12.6%), Southeast and East Asia (13.6%) and Eastern Europe (14.6%). Also, in terms of interprovincial migration rates, immigrants from the United States and Northern and Western Europe ranked high, with their age-adjusted rates being 5.6, 5.1, and 5.1%, respectively; whereas those from Southern Europe (1.2%), and Central and South America and the Caribbean (2.9%), ranked the lowest. Africans were among the most mobile groups interprovincially, with a rate of 5.3%.

Table 3.2

Mobility and Internal Migration Rates¹ (%) for Population Aged 15 years and Over, by Country/Region of Birth, Canada, 1986-91

Country/region of birth	Intramunicipal moves	Intraprovincial migration	Interprovincial migration
Born in Canada	23.0 (23.0)	17.0 (17.0)	4.1 (4.1)
Born outside Canada	27.0 (27.2)	15.5 (15.3)	4.0 (3.8)
United States	24.2 (24.4)	17.1 (16.5)	5.6 (5.1)
Northern Europe	26.8 (27.1)	18.7 (18.1)	5.1 (4.8)
Western Europe	22.7 (22.8)	18.2 (17.8)	5.1 (4.9)
Eastern Europe	28.9 (28.6)	14.6 (13.9)	4.6 (4.3)
Southern Europe	23.5 (23.8)	12.6 (13.2)	1.2 (1.4)
Central & South America & Caribbean	31.7 (32.0)	16.6 (16.5)	2.9 (2.8)
Africa	27.0 (28.0)	15.4 (14.8)	5.3 (4.7)
South & West Asia	30.2 (30.6)	15.9 (15.6)	4.3 (4.1)
Southeast & East Asia	33.5 (34.1)	13.6 (13.4)	4.6 (4.4)
Oceania & Others	29.2 (30.0)	15.5 (15.6)	4.8 (4.8)

1 Adjusted just for age (using the age distribution of persons born in Canada as standard).
The rates in parentheses are adjusted for both age and education.

Source: 1991 Census of Canada, unpublished tabulations.

Patterns are very different in the case of intramunicipal moves, which involve the change of residence within the same city. Southeast and East Asian immigrants ranked the highest among those who had moved from one house to another within a city, with a rate of 33.5%, compared with a rate of 27.0% among the total foreign-born. Immigrants from South and West Asia and Central and South America and the Caribbean ranked the next highest, with a mobility rate of approximately 30.0%. The least mobile were West Europeans, Southern Europeans and those from the United States, with a rate of close to that for the Canadian-born (23.0%).

Why should certain immigrant groups be geographically more mobile than others? It is likely that the more mobile groups are also the ones with a high concentration of people with characteristics associated with greater mobility, and if these characteristics were equalized, the differences between the groups in terms of their mobility patterns would disappear. The numbers shown in parentheses are the mobility and migration rates, for 10 immigrant groups, adjusted for age and educational backgrounds (**Table 3.2**). These figures indicate what the mobility (or migration) rate for an immigrant group would be if it had the same age and educational characteristics of the Canadian-born. Regardless of their educational backgrounds, immigrants from Southeast and East Asia remained highly transient in terms of moving from one house to another within a city, and those from the United States,

Northern Europe and Western Europe are highly migratory in terms of moving from one city or province to another. Similarly, Southern Europeans remained least mobile, both intraprovincially and interprovincially.

In addition to background characteristics, immigrants differ among themselves in terms of the duration of their residence in Canada. Immigrants who have been living in Canada since childhood, for example, are likely to behave differently from those who have recently arrived. This is clearly reflected in **Table 3.3**, which presents mobility and migration rates for people born outside Canada by the period of their immigration to Canada. Recent immigrants who arrived during 1981-85 had very high mobility and migration rates – higher than those of the Canadian-born. However, these rates were lower among immigrants who had arrived in Canada earlier. It is during the initial period following their arrival that immigrants are geographically highly mobile, in search of appropriate employment and residential situations. Once they have settled, they do not move around as often as the Canadian-born. Obviously, these observations remain tentative, as numerous variables that may influence the geographic mobility of immigrants have not been taken into account.

Table 3.3
Age-adjusted¹ Migration Rates (%) for Persons Born Outside Canada by Period of Immigration, Canada, 1986-91

Migration status	Born in Canada	Born outside Canada: Period of immigration				
		1961-65	1966-70	1971-75	1976-80	1981-85
20 Years and over						
Intraprovincial	17.4	N.A.	16.4	15.8	15.7	26.9
Interprovincial	4.2	N.A.	3.8	3.6	4.4	5.4
25 Years and over						
Intraprovincial	16.6	15.7	15.9	15.5	15.4	16.8
Interprovincial	4.0	3.5	3.5	3.5	4.3	5.4

¹ Adjusted using the age distribution of the total population born in Canada as standard.

Source: 1991 Census of Canada, unpublished tabulations.

Chapter

4

Some Economic Dimensions of Migration

Migrants are Slightly Less Likely to be Unemployed than Non-migrants

As most moves – particularly those involving long distances – are primarily motivated by economic reasons, and as migration is dominated by younger, better-educated and more skilled workers, it is fair to assume that migrants are usually economically better-off than the local population. This assumption is largely supported from data on unemployment presented in **Table 4.1**. At the national level in 1991, the unemployment rate among interprovincial migrants was 9.8%, slightly lower than the overall unemployment rate of 10.2%. Migrants in the Atlantic provinces, Quebec, and the two territories experienced higher unemployment rates than migrants in other regions, although appreciably lower than that observed for the total population. Newfoundland stands out clearly in this region, with an unemployment rate of 20.8% among migrants – the highest in the country. This high unemployment rate is to be expected, given that province's high overall level of unemployment (27.8%). The unemployment rate among migrants was still much lower (7 percentage points) than the overall unemployment rate for the province.

The story is different for the three Prairie provinces – Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta – where interprovincial migrants experienced higher unemployment rates than did the total population. During 1986-91, a period of relatively slow employment growth, these provinces suffered heavy losses through migration. It is likely that people who chose to migrate to this region had to face severe competition with the local population, and therefore higher unemployment.

Table 4.1**Unemployment Rate (%) for Total Population and Interprovincial Migrants Aged 15 Years and Over, Canada, Provinces and Territories, 1991**

Place of residence	Total population	Interprovincial migrants	Difference
Canada	10.2	9.8	-0.4
Newfoundland	27.8	20.8	-7.0
Prince Edward Island	13.5	11.4	-2.1
Nova Scotia	12.7	11.6	-1.1
New Brunswick	15.4	12.6	-2.8
Quebec	12.1	10.3	-1.8
Ontario	8.5	8.6	0.1
Manitoba	8.1	8.8	0.7
Saskatchewan	7.1	8.5	1.4
Alberta	7.8	9.0	1.2
British Columbia	10.3	10.4	0.1
Yukon Territory	11.6	9.9	-1.7
Northwest Territories	13.3	5.3	-8.0

Sources: Statistics Canada, **Mobility and Migration**. 1991 Census of Canada, Catalogue No. 93-322 and **Labour Force Activity**. Catalogue No. 93-324.

Men Benefit Economically More Than Women by Migrating

Migration may be regarded as a form of human capital investment from which the migrants expect benefits large enough to offset the cost of moving. The cost of moving can be both economic and non-economic. These costs include monetary losses in buying, selling, or renting a house, increased expenditures on food, housing and transportation, and the earnings foregone while travelling and searching for employment and psychological costs to the individual caused by separation from family, friends and familiar surroundings.

While precise estimates of the costs and benefits of migration can not be obtained from the census, some observations can be made by examining the association between migration status and total individual income. **Table 4.2** reveals that the age-adjusted average income of men aged 20 and over who had moved from one province to another was relatively high at \$33,685 in 1990, slightly higher than those who had moved from one municipality to another within a province (\$32,292). People who had not moved at all during the five years preceding the census had a lower average income of \$30,897.

Patterns remain unchanged in the case of the association between migration status and employment income. While the average employment income of male non-movers (\$24,829) was about the same as that for all men (\$25,382), the income for intraprovincial migrants was 4% higher, and that for interprovincial migrants was 6% higher. These statistics seem to support the conventional wisdom that migration to another province or city is economically rewarding to men. However, as we shall observe later, the relatively high income among male migrants can be attributed to their higher level of education, compared with non-migrants.

Table 4.2
Total and Employment Income for Persons Aged 20 Years and Over by Mobility and Migration Status and Sex, Canada, 1990

Mobility/migration status	Total income		Employment income	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Age-adjusted income ¹				
Total	31,331	16,610	25,382	11,942
Non-movers	30,897	15,925	24,829	11,390
Intraprovincial migrants	32,292	17,118	26,273	12,263
Interprovincial migrants	33,685	16,661	26,869	11,513
Index (total = 100)				
Total	100	100	100	100
Non-movers	99	96	98	95
Intraprovincial migrants	103	103	104	103
Interprovincial migrants	108	100	106	96

¹ Adjusted using the age distribution of the total population of respective sex as standard.

Source: 1991 Census of Canada, unpublished tabulations.

Interestingly, the same is not true for women. Like men, women who did not change their residence during 1986-91 had a relatively low age-adjusted average employment income, at \$11,390. However, the income of those who did migrate from one province to another was equally low at \$11,513 – 4% lower than the employment income for all women. It appears that while interprovincial migration helps to improve men's economic position, it has a detrimental effect on that of women, at least in the short run. This may be because women are more likely to migrate to join their spouse or family at the expense of their employment, and therefore suffer losses in earnings.

The conclusion that interprovincial migration is economically less rewarding to women than to men is clearly revealed in **Table 4.3**, which presents employment incomes of husbands and wives by mobility and migration status. While the age-adjusted average income of husbands who moved from one province to another was 6% higher than that of all husbands, the converse was true for wives, whose average income was 10% lower than that of all wives. Although educational background accounts for the better economic performance of migrant husbands, it fails to do so for migrant wives. In fact, it appears that if migrant wives had an educational background similar to that of all wives, their employment income would be even worse than otherwise. The age- and education-adjusted average employment income of wives who migrated from one province to another was \$10,287 – 18% lower than the income of all wives in 1990. It must be emphasized, however, that this observation relates to women's income almost immediately following their migration. Once they have remained at their place of destination for a longer period, their incomes could rise.

Table 4.3
Employment Income of Men and Women Aged 20 Years and Over in Husband-wife Families by Mobility and Migration Status, Canada, 1990

Mobility/migration status	Age-adjusted income ¹		Age-education-adjusted income ²	
	Husband	Wife	Husband	Wife
Total	29,209	12,549	29,209	12,549
Non-movers	29,074	11,771	29,697	12,233
Intraprovincial migrants	29,496	12,814	28,980	12,472
Interprovincial migrants	31,031	11,342	28,780	10,287
Index (Total = 100)				
Total	100	100	100	100
Non-movers	100	94	102	97
Intraprovincial migrants	101	102	99	99
Interprovincial migrants	106	90	99	82

1 Adjusted using the age distribution of the total population of respective sex as standard.

2 Adjusted using the age and education composition of the total population of respective sex as standard.

Source: 1991 Census of Canada, unpublished tabulations.

Table 4.4
Average Income of Husband-wife Families by Mobility and Migration Status,
Adjusted for Age and Education, Canada, 1990

Mobility and migration status	Age-adjusted ¹ income	Age/education adjusted ² income
Total	54,700	54,700
Non-movers	54,283	55,193
Intraprovincial migrants	54,663	53,810
Interprovincial migrants	55,622	52,042

1 Adjusted using the age distribution of all husbands as standard.

2 Adjusted using the age and educational composition of all husbands as standard.

Source: 1991 Census of Canada, unpublished tabulations.

Wives are more likely to accompany their husbands to a new destination, and their employment and earnings prospects are often secondary in migration decisions. However, if the gain in men's income resulting from the move is large enough to offset their wives' losses, migration may be construed as an important form of investment. The data presented in **Table 4.4** do not fully support this hypothesis: regardless of whose migration status is considered, the husband's or wife's, migration does not necessarily result in an increase in the family income. Although, at first glance, the age-adjusted income of husband-wife families who have moved interprovincially appears slightly higher than that of families who had either moved within the province or not moved at all, it is probably due to the positive selection of highly educated people among the interprovincial migrants. Thus, when both the age and education of husbands were taken into account, the family income of interprovincial migrants was found to be about 6% lower, and that of intraprovincial migrants about 3% lower, than non-movers and intramunicipal movers. It appears that the deterrent effect of migration on women's income increases with the distance moved. At least in the short term, internal migration is economically advantageous to men, but the loss in income suffered by wives is too large to make up for the overall loss in the family income due to migration.

This observation regarding migrants' income is in no way conclusive, however, since their incomes both before and several years after migration are not known. It is likely that migrants themselves had very low family income before moving. It is also likely that wives improve their economic position during the course of their stay at their destination.



Chapter 5

Interprovincial Migration

With the declining importance of natural increase, internal migration has become the critical factor behind the differential rates of population growth of various geographic regions in Canada. By examining some recent patterns of interprovincial migration, this chapter shows that only a few provinces gain from migration while most lose, and that a lot of movement in and out of provinces often underlies relatively small net gains or losses.

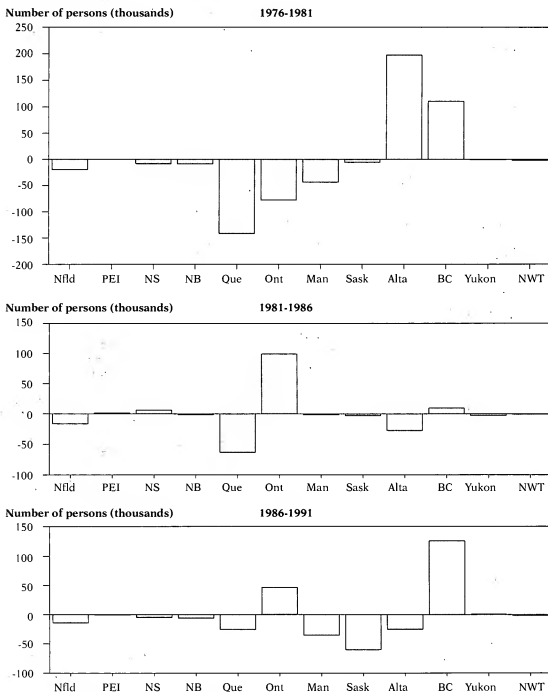
British Columbia Remains an Attractive Destination

As shown in **Chart 5.1**, British Columbia gained the most by interprovincial migration during 1986-91, at 126,000 persons. This resulted from a total of 238,000 in-migrants, compared with 112,000 out-migrants. British Columbia was the only province to experience a net gain throughout the 1976-1991 period, with the smallest being 9,500 people during 1981-86. Between 1986 and 1991, Ontario gained 47,000 persons through migration. Although Ontario attracted the largest number of in-migrants during this period at 270,000, it experienced the largest out-migration as well at 223,000, leaving a small net gain. During the preceding period (1981-86), Ontario's migratory net gain was the largest at 99,000 persons, while it had lost 78,000 during 1976-81. Unlike British Columbia, the fluctuation of migratory gains and losses in Ontario over the three intercensal periods was mainly due to changes in out-migration, while in-migration was almost unchanged. These fluctuations were mainly due to variations in the number of in-migrants.

The Yukon Territory gained a small number of people (800) by interprovincial migration in the 1986-91 period. This was the Yukon's first gain after losses in the two previous intercensal periods. Among the persistent losers, Quebec and Saskatchewan stand out clearly. While Quebec's net loss continued to decline over the three intercensal periods, from 142,000 during 1976-81 to just 26,000 during 1986-91, the reverse happened for Saskatchewan, whose net loss rose from 6,000 to 60,000 during the same period. Newfoundland, Manitoba and the Northwest Territories have also experienced persistent losses through migration. Alberta, which retained a prominent place in the Canadian demographic picture by attracting the largest volume of net migration (200,000) during the oil boom of 1976-81, became one of the greatest losers during the 1980s.

Chart 5.1

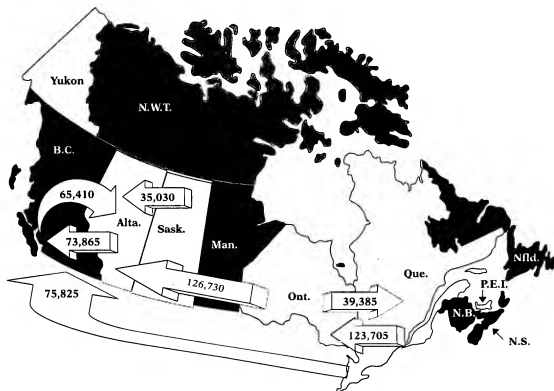
Net Interprovincial Migration, Provinces and Territories, 1976-1981, 1981-1986 and 1986-1991



A Few Gain at the Expense of Most Others

The magnitude of the interprovincial flow is different from one province to another and from one period to the next. **Charts 5.2 through 5.4** show some of the largest interprovincial migration flows for three intercensal periods. Four provinces – British Columbia, Ontario, Alberta and to a lesser extent Quebec (which obtained a significant number only from Ontario) – exchanged a large number of migrants.

Chart 5.2
Largest Interprovincial Migration Flows, 1976-1981

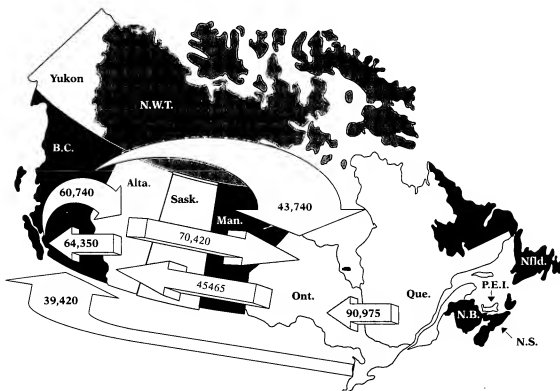


Source: Table A.1 in Appendix.

As mentioned, Alberta was the most important attraction for Canadian migrants during 1976-81. At the height of its oil boom, this province attracted 126,730 people from Ontario, the largest interprovincial migration of the period. The second-largest flow during this

period was from Quebec to Ontario, at 123,705. British Columbia received the third- and fourth-largest flows, from Ontario (75,825) and Alberta (73,865).

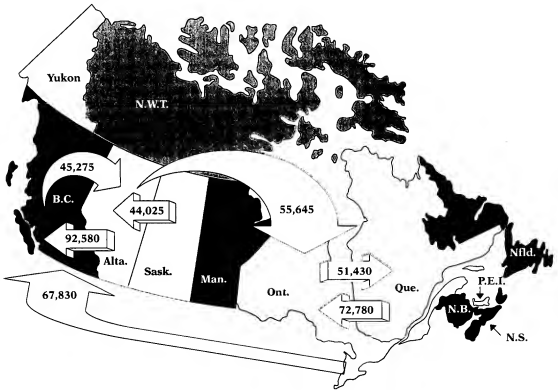
Chart 5.3
Largest Interprovincial Migration Flows, 1981-1986



Source: Table A.1 in Appendix.

Between 1981 and 1986, the three largest flows were from Quebec to Ontario (90,975), Alberta to Ontario (70,420) and Alberta to British Columbia (64,350). Although Alberta lost more people to other provinces than it attracted in this period (possibly due to the decline of its oil industry), it still received 60,740 people from British Columbia and 45,465 from Ontario.

Chart 5.4
Largest Interprovincial Migration Flows, 1986-1991



Source: Table A.1 in Appendix.

During the most recent census period (1986-91), British Columbia revived its charm once again, as reflected in a large in-migration from other parts of the country. It received 92,580 persons from Alberta alone, the largest number of people to move from any one province or territory to another during that period. The second-largest flow was from Quebec to Ontario, at 72,780 persons, and the third-largest flow from Ontario to British Columbia, at 67,830 persons.

Newfoundland and Saskatchewan Experienced Large Losses of Highly Educated People

Population redistribution through internal migration is important to a region not only in terms of numbers, but also in terms of the skills and attributes the migrants bring or take with them. Migration serves as a mechanism for redistributing people of varying characteristics within geographic regions, and therefore can exert an important influence on the social and economic development of both the sending and receiving regions. In order to address this issue, this study focusses primarily on the characteristics of interprovincial migrants in terms of their education and occupation.

Migration rates – in, out, and net – usually increase as the educational level increases. As shown in **Table 5.1**, the provinces that experienced large gains of migrants were also large gainers of university-educated people; conversely, of course, the provinces that lost populations through migration experienced a loss of their better-educated people. When examined in terms of net migration rates, it is evident that Saskatchewan and Newfoundland experienced heavy losses of their better-educated people. Between 1981 and 1986, Newfoundland's total population out-migrated at a rate of 3.6%, while its university-educated population out-migrated at a rate of 5.9%. Between 1986 and 1991, the rate for the total population declined slightly to 3.3%, but the out-migration of university-educated people almost doubled, to 10.1%.

In Saskatchewan during the same period, the total out-migration rate increased from 0.4% to 6.9%, while the rate of university-educated people almost quadrupled, from 3.7% to 15.0%. During 1986-91, this province ranked the highest in terms of its net loss of university-educated people through out-migration. Manitoba's story is similar, although of a somewhat more subdued nature; its net out-migration was widespread and not particularly concentrated among the highly educated.

Three Atlantic provinces – Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, also experienced large losses of better-educated people. During both the 1981-86 and 1986-91 periods, these provinces experienced one of the highest rates of out-migration of university-educated people. During 1981-86, these provinces experienced a net gain of less-educated migrants, but a net loss of university-educated people, whereas during 1986-91, the losses occurred among both the less-educated and the highly educated.

As discussed earlier, the two territories – the Yukon and Northwest Territories – have the most mobile populations. In terms of its better-educated migrants, the Northwest Territories does not seem to follow the usual pattern. In both 1981-86 and 1986-91, the Northwest Territories experienced a net out-migration of less-educated people but a net in-migration of university-educated people.

Migrants Differ from Non-migrants in Terms of their Occupations

The fact that migrants are not identical to non-migrants is also reflected in the dissimilarities in their occupational composition. As **Table 5.2** shows, migrants are more heavily concentrated in white-collar occupations (managerial, administrative and related; natural sciences, engineering, and mathematics; social sciences and related; religion; medicine and health; artistic, literary, and recreational) and in service occupations. **Table 5.3** presents the "index of dissimilarity," which is a summary indicator of how much two groups – total population and migrants – are different in terms of their occupational distributions. In 1991, migrants and total population were dissimilar in terms of occupation in 9% of the cases. Since it is primarily the male labour force that is affected by interprovincial migration, the index is larger for men (11) than women (7).

Although larger concentrations of migrants in white-collar and service occupations can be seen for every province and territory, the extent of concentration varies markedly between regions, particularly in the case of males. The index of occupational dissimilarity among males was relatively large (ranging between 17 and 23) in the Atlantic provinces, Manitoba, Saskatchewan and the Northwest Territories, all of which experienced relatively high net out-migration rates. Perhaps migrants to these provinces fulfilled the needs of those sectors of the labour market for which the local population was less available. The other end of the spectrum included Alberta, British Columbia and the Yukon, whose migrant populations were much like their local populations in terms of their concentration in white-collar occupations. These provinces likely had enough workers of their own in these occupations, and therefore did not need migrants to fulfil their needs.

Table 5.1

Interprovincial In-, Out- and Net Migration Rates (%) for Population Aged 15 Years and Over by Highest Level of Education, Canada, Provinces and Territories, 1981-86 and 1986-91

Area	In-migration rate						Out-migration rate						Net-migration rate					
	0-8	9-13	Second-	Some	Univer-	Total	0-8	9-13	Second-	Some	Univer-	Total	0-8	9-13	Second-	Some	Univer-	Total
	Years	Years	ary school certifi- cate	post second- ary	sity degree		Years	Years	ary school certifi- cate	post second- ary	sity degree		Years	Years	ary school certifi- cate	post second- ary	sity degree	
Canada	1.4	3.5	4.3	4.6	7.4	4.0	1.4	3.5	4.3	4.6	7.4	4.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Nfld.	1.2	2.8	4.1	4.5	8.3	3.3	2.0	5.9	12.0	9.7	14.2	6.9	-0.8	-3.1	-7.9	-5.2	-5.9	-3.6
P.E.I.	3.0	6.7	13.4	9.3	17.1	8.2	1.6	5.1	12.6	8.1	19.0	7.0	1.3	1.6	0.9	1.3	-1.8	1.1
N.S.	2.4	4.8	12.0	8.2	13.8	6.9	1.9	4.3	9.7	6.9	14.7	6.1	0.5	0.5	2.3	1.3	-0.9	0.8
N.B.	2.3	4.7	6.8	6.9	12.1	5.6	1.6	4.7	7.6	7.6	15.5	5.9	0.7	0.0	-0.8	-0.7	-3.4	-0.4
Que.	0.4	1.0	1.2	1.2	2.9	1.1	0.6	2.0	2.1	2.6	6.2	2.2	-0.2	-1.0	-0.9	-1.4	-3.2	-1.1
Ont.	1.3	2.6	3.6	3.9	6.5	3.4	1.0	1.7	2.3	2.5	4.4	2.2	0.3	0.9	1.3	1.4	2.1	1.2
Man.	2.1	4.7	7.7	7.1	9.9	5.7	2.3	4.5	8.2	7.1	12.6	6.0	-0.2	0.2	-0.5	0.0	-2.7	-0.3
Sask.	2.2	5.0	8.4	7.2	11.1	5.9	2.0	4.9	9.3	7.5	14.7	6.3	0.2	0.1	-0.9	-0.4	-3.6	-0.4
Alta.	4.0	7.0	11.2	9.0	12.5	8.5	5.1	8.5	12.3	10.5	11.8	9.6	-1.1	-1.5	-1.1	-1.5	0.7	-1.2
B.C.	3.1	4.8	6.4	6.2	9.7	5.8	2.8	4.6	6.5	5.7	7.8	5.3	0.2	0.2	-0.1	0.5	1.9	0.4
Yuk.	7.9	18.3	29.2	23.1	36.3	22.1	17.1	31.6	36.5	37.1	47.7	34.4	-9.2	-13.2	-7.2	-14.1	-11.4	-12.3
N.W.T.	2.8	19.5	43.4	32.5	47.7	21.6	4.7	20.9	46.4	34.0	37.8	22.4	-2.0	-1.4	-3.0	-1.5	9.8	-0.8

Table 5.1

Interprovincial In-, Out- and Net Migration Rates (%) for Population Aged 15 Years and Over by Highest Level of Education, Canada, Provinces and Territories, 1981-86 and 1986-91 – concluded

Area	In-migration rate						Out-migration rate						Net-migration rate					
	0-8 Years	9-13 Years	Secondary school certificate	Some post secondary	University degree	Total	0-8 Years	9-13 Years	Secondary school certificate	Some post secondary	University degree	Total	0-8 Years	9-13 Years	Secondary school certificate	Some post secondary	University degree	Total
Canada	1.4	3.2	3.2	4.6	6.9	3.9	1.4	3.2	3.2	4.6	6.9	3.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Nfld.	1.5	3.3	3.9	4.6	7.6	3.7	1.9	5.5	8.7	8.7	17.6	7.0	-0.5	-2.2	-4.8	-4.1	-10.1	-3.3
P.E.I.	2.8	6.2	7.3	8.1	15.6	7.3	2.1	5.0	8.5	10.7	20.4	8.4	0.7	1.2	-1.1	-2.6	-4.8	-1.0
N.S.	2.2	4.1	6.9	7.7	13.0	6.4	2.0	4.5	8.0	8.0	16.2	7.0	0.3	-0.4	-1.2	-0.3	-3.2	-0.6
N.B.	1.9	4.2	4.7	6.6	12.0	5.3	2.1	4.6	6.1	7.8	16.4	6.3	-0.1	-0.3	-1.3	-1.3	-4.4	-1.1
Que.	0.4	1.1	1.0	1.5	3.1	1.3	0.5	1.4	1.3	1.9	4.7	1.7	0.0	-0.4	-0.3	-0.4	-1.5	-0.4
Ont.	1.2	2.1	2.4	3.2	5.6	2.9	1.1	1.9	1.9	2.9	4.0	2.4	0.0	0.3	0.5	0.3	1.6	0.5
Man.	1.7	3.4	4.3	5.4	7.6	4.4	2.9	6.0	8.1	9.7	14.6	7.9	-1.2	-2.6	-3.8	-4.3	-7.0	-3.6
Sask.	1.7	3.3	3.9	5.1	8.4	4.2	3.4	8.5	11.7	13.6	23.4	11.1	-1.7	-5.2	-7.9	-8.5	-15.0	-6.9
Alta.	4.1	6.7	7.7	8.1	9.7	7.5	4.4	6.6	7.6	9.6	12.2	8.4	-0.3	0.1	0.0	-1.6	-2.5	-0.9
B.C.	4.1	6.3	6.5	8.9	12.5	7.9	2.2	3.2	3.3	3.9	5.6	3.7	1.9	3.1	3.2	5.0	7.0	4.2
Yuk.	11.2	22.4	24.4	27.2	38.8	26.3	13.0	22.2	23.1	23.2	24.3	22.4	-1.8	0.2	1.3	4.0	14.6	3.9
N.W.T.	2.1	17.7	31.4	27.9	48.0	21.1	4.2	26.0	37.9	30.1	34.7	23.3	-2.1	-8.3	-6.5	-2.2	13.3	-2.2

Table 5.2

Distribution of Population Aged 15 Years and Over by Occupation, Showing Total Population in the Labour Force and Interprovincial Migrants, Canada, 1991

Occupation major group	Total population in labour force	Interprovincial migrants	Difference
All occupations	100.0	100.0	0.0
Managerial, administrative and related	12.2	13.3	1.1
Occupation in natural sciences, engineering and mathematics	4.0	5.6	1.6
Occupation in social sciences and related	2.2	2.9	0.7
Occupation in religions	0.2	0.7	0.5
Teaching & related	4.4	4.8	0.4
Occupation in medicine and health	5.1	5.7	0.6
Artistic, literary, recreational and related	1.7	2.7	1.0
Clerical and related	18.1	16.3	-1.8
Sales occupation	9.2	9.2	0.0
Service occupation	12.8	16.1	3.3
Farming, horticultural and animal husbandry occupation	3.3	1.6	-1.7
Fishing, trapping, and related	0.3	0.2	-0.1
Forestry and logging occupation	0.6	0.4	-0.2
Mining and quarrying including oil and gas field occupation	0.5	0.7	0.2
Processing occupation	2.9	1.7	-1.2
Machining and related	1.9	1.2	-0.7
Product fabricating, assembling and repairing occupation	6.3	4.5	-1.8
Construction trades occupation	5.9	6.0	0.1
Transport equipment operating occupation	3.6	3.0	-0.6
Material handling and related	1.6	1.1	-0.5
Other crafts and equipment operating occupation	1.1	0.9	-0.2
Occupation not elsewhere classified	2.1	1.6	-0.5

Sources: Statistics Canada, **Occupation**. 1991 Census of Canada, Catalogue No. 93-327, Table 1.

Statistics Canada, **Mobility and Migration**. 1991 Census of Canada, Catalogue No. 93-322, Table 6.

Table 5.3

Index of Occupational Dissimilarity between Interprovincial Migrants and Total Population in Labour Force, Canada, 1991

Province and territory	Both sexes	Male	Female
Canada	9.2	11.2	6.9
Newfoundland	14.4	17.2	10.9
Prince Edward Island	14.3	21.5	6.9
Nova Scotia	15.6	22.7	7.0
New Brunswick	15.3	21.7	11.1
Quebec	12.5	15.8	11.3
Ontario	10.0	12.5	7.1
Manitoba	14.3	18.3	9.6
Saskatchewan	15.0	20.6	9.6
Alberta	7.1	7.3	7.4
British Columbia	8.4	10.6	6.0
Yukon Territory	7.9	12.3	4.2
Northwest Territories	10.0	13.0	8.9

Sources: Statistics Canada, *Occupation*. 1991 Census of Canada, Catalogue No. 93-327, Table 1.

Statistics Canada, *Mobility and Migration*. 1991 Census of Canada, Catalogue No. 93-322, Table 6.

Migration of Anglophones from Quebec Has Slowed Down

Language holds a unique place in the distribution and redistribution of Canada's population, as persons of various mother tongues – especially English and French – are highly concentrated geographically. In 1991, 86% of the nation's population who reported French as their only mother tongue, lived in the province of Quebec. On the other hand, only 4% of those reporting English as their only mother tongue lived in Quebec. Although these patterns have changed only slightly over the years, some recent trends in interprovincial migration by mother tongue have attracted considerable attention among the media and among those interested in programs and policies related to the interprovincial shifts in financial, labour, and capital resources that accompany spatial population shifts.

In examining the recent interprovincial migration patterns by mother tongue, Quebec, Ontario, British Columbia and Alberta emerge as provinces with differing patterns of migration among Anglophones, Francophones and Allophones. Following the 1976 election of the Parti Québécois, Quebec experienced a large exodus of Anglophones. As shown in **Table 5.4**, about 131,000 Anglophones left, while only 25,000 entered the province between 1976 and 1981. As a consequence, the province experienced a net loss of 106,000 Anglophones – three quarters of the total net loss for the province during that period. Although the net out-migration of Anglophones from Quebec has persisted, it has slowed substantially in recent years. The province experienced a net loss of about 41,000 Anglophones during 1981-86, and 22,000 during 1986-91.

Historically, Ontario has attracted migrants of all language backgrounds. Even during 1976-81, when people from all parts of Canada were migrating to Alberta, Ontario remained the most common destination for Anglophones and Allophones from Quebec. Between 1981 and 1986, when Ontario was the greatest attraction for migrants from all other provinces, it had a net gain of 73,000 Anglophones, 12,000 Francophones and 15,000 Allophones. The largest number of English-speaking persons entered the province from Alberta (60,000), followed by those from Quebec (50,000) and British Columbia (37,000). Most of the French-speaking persons (56%) who migrated to Ontario were from Quebec, although a sizable proportion (41%) of Allophones also came from Quebec. Similar patterns prevailed during 1986-91.

Although the majority of Quebec's population is Francophone (81% in 1991), the province has not attracted large numbers of Francophones from other parts of Canada. In fact, Quebec experienced a net loss of 18,000 Francophones during 1976-81 and 12,000 during 1981-86, and a net gain of 5,500 during 1986-91.

British Columbia, which has been a popular destination for migrants from all parts of the country, has usually attracted Anglophones and Allophones. Between 1986 and 1991, for example, 83% of all in-migrants to the province had a mother tongue of English only, 12% were those whose mother tongue was neither English nor French, and only 4% had a mother tongue of French only. The province has always been an attractive destination for people whose mother tongue is neither English nor French. Even during 1981-86, when British Columbia received only about 150,000 persons – perhaps one of the lowest rates in recent history – about 12% were those whose mother tongue was other than English or French.

Table 5.4

In-, Out- and Net Migration for Population Aged 5 Years and Over by Mother Tongue, Quebec, Ontario, Alberta and British Columbia, 1976-81, 1981-86 and 1986-91

Mother tongue and component	Quebec	Ontario	Alberta	B.C.	Total*
1976-81					
English					
Out-migration	131,530	266,645	121,250	107,045	927,135
In-migration	25,210	195,320	286,750	198,650	927,135
Net migration	-106,320	-71,325	165,500	91,605	0
French					
Out-migration	49,950	33,930	4,545	4,810	114,515
In-migration	31,865	31,910	19,655	10,335	114,515
Net migration	-18,085	-2,020	15,110	5,525	0
Other					
Out-migration	21,565	28,045	13,425	11,745	98,855
In-migration	4,215	23,350	30,420	25,575	98,855
Net migration	-17,350	-4,695	16,995	13,830	0
Total					
Out-migration	203,030	328,645	139,195	123,625	1,140,570
In-migration	61,295	250,580	336,830	234,555	1,140,570
Net migration	-141,735	-78,065	197,635	110,930	0
1981-86					
English					
Out-migration	67,625	143,095	172,675	121,615	728,190
In-migration	26,880	215,920	152,085	125,945	728,190
Net migration	-40,745	72,825	-20,590	4,330	0
French					
Out-migration	43,495	23,725	11,850	5,435	100,085
In-migration	31,090	35,490	7,680	7,265	100,085
Net migration	-12,405	11,765	-4,170	1,830	0
Other					
Out-migration	19,115	19,345	20,420	15,125	96,200
In-migration	8,930	34,120	17,525	18,450	96,200
Net migration	-10,185	14,775	-2,895	3,325	0
Total					
Out-migration	130,215	186,170	204,945	142,185	924,495
In-migration	66,920	285,520	177,290	151,680	924,495
Net migration	-63,295	99,350	-27,655	9,495	0

Table 5.4

In-, Out- and Net Migration for Population Aged 5 Years and Over by Mother Tongue, Quebec, Ontario, Alberta and British Columbia, 1976-81, 1981-86 and 1986-91 - concluded

Mother tongue and component	Quebec	Ontario	Alberta	B.C.	Total*
1986-91					
English, single response					
Out-migration	52,685	166,545	163,245	92,795	759,965
In-migration	30,960	196,920	146,905	198,140	759,965
Net migration	-21,725	30,375	-16,340	105,345	0
French, single response					
Out-migration	36,990	34,020	7,765	5,625	107,855
In-migration	42,445	32,150	7,155	9,085	107,855
Net migration	5,455	-1,870	-610	3,460	0
Other, single response					
Out-migration	15,480	19,965	22,165	12,795	98,160
In-migration	7,225	36,885	14,180	28,680	98,160
Net migration	-8,255	16,920	-7,985	15,885	0
English & French					
Out-migration	1,410	1,285	485	275	4,510
In-migration	995	1,605	630	555	4,510
Net migration	-415	320	145	280	0
All other, multiple response					
Out-migration	955	1,195	1,335	795	6,535
In-migration	370	2,430	1,150	1,710	6,535
Net migration	-585	1,235	-185	915	0
Total					
Out-migration	107,545	223,030	195,025	112,290	977,070
In-migration	81,985	269,985	170,010	238,170	977,070
Net migration	-25,560	46,955	-25,015	125,880	0

* Total includes all provinces and territories

Sources: Table A.2a, Table A.2b and Table A.2c in Appendix

During the height of the oil boom of 1976-81, Alberta gained people of all language backgrounds from all provinces. During that period, the province experienced a net gain of 165,000 Anglophones, 15,000 Francophones, and 17,000 Allophones. The economic climate reversed during 1981-86, and Alberta experienced a net loss through out-migration. The exodus of people from all language backgrounds continued through 1986-91, albeit at a slower pace. However, people whose mother tongue was neither English nor French continued to leave the province in increasing numbers.

Chapter 6

Rural-Urban and Metropolitan-Non-metropolitan Migration

Reversal of Rural-Urban Migration Continues

Canada is one of the most urbanized countries in the world, with 77% of its population in 1991 living in urban areas. This is largely due to the well-known migration from rural to urban areas in the 20th century, particularly during the period following World War II. This long-term trend was suddenly reversed in the early 1970s, when for the first time migration from urban to rural areas outnumbered the reverse, a phenomenon that has continued into the present. Between 1986 and 1991, 635,000 persons moved from rural to urban areas, while 924,000 moved in the opposite direction, for a net loss of 289,000 to the urban part of the nation. Although in relative terms, a large proportion of the Canadian population still migrates from rural to urban areas, this tendency has either slowed down or stabilized, as shown in **Table 6.1**. During 1971-76, 69% of rural migrants left for urban areas; this proportion was virtually the same during 1986-91.

The 1980s saw a revival of the long-established tendency of urban concentration that had subsided in the 1970s. Large cities had become centres of attraction once again. The proportion of the rural population migrating to large urban centres (100,000 and over) increased from 32% during 1971-76, to 34% during 1976-81 and to 38% during 1981-86.

The trend was particularly pronounced among those who had moved from smaller urban places to large urban centres. Evidently this revival was short-lived, as large urban centres lost their charm again by the late 1980s. Between 1986 and 1991, smaller proportions of rural people and small-city dwellers were moving toward large urban centres.

Table 6.1
Number and Percent Distribution of Rural-urban Migrants Aged 5 Years and Over,
Canada, 1976, 1981, 1986 and 1991

Origin	Destination							
	Rural	Urban			Rural	Urban		
		Total urban	Less than 100,000 population	Population 100,000 or more		Total urban	Less than 100,000 population	Population 100,000 or more
		Percentage				Number ('000)		
Rural								
1971-76	31.1	68.9	37.2	31.8	296	656	354	302
1976-81	29.7	70.3	36.4	33.9	256	307	314	293
1981-86	27.3	72.7	34.2	38.4	235	625	294	330
1986-91	31.3	68.7	36.0	32.6	290	635	333	301
Total Urban								
1971-76	26.6	73.4	25.3	48.0	907	2503	865	1638
1976-81	23.7	76.3	25.1	51.2	863	2786	918	1868
1981-86	22.0	78.0	23.9	54.0	702	2488	765	1723
1986-91	23.0	77.0	23.7	53.2	924	3099	957	2142
Urban								
Less than 100,000								
1971-76	34.1	65.9	35.1	30.8	406	786	419	368
1976-81	26.0	74.0	27.9	46.1	562	1600	604	996
1981-86	24.0	76.0	27.3	48.7	449	1421	511	911
1986-91	26.2	73.8	27.8	46.0	564	1591	599	992
Urban								
100,000 or more								
1971-76	22.6	77.4	20.1	57.3	501	1717	447	1270
1976-81	20.2	79.8	21.1	58.7	301	1186	314	872
1981-86	19.2	80.8	19.3	61.5	254	1067	255	812
1986-91	19.2	80.8	19.2	61.6	360	1509	358	1150
Total								
1971-76	27.6	72.4	27.9	44.5	1203	3159	1219	1940
1976-81	24.8	75.2	27.3	47.9	1119	3393	1232	2161
1981-86	23.1	76.9	26.2	50.7	937	3113	1060	2053
1986-91	24.5	75.5	26.1	49.4	1214	3734	1290	2444

Sources: Unpublished tabulations from 1976, 1981, 1986 and 1991 Censuses of Canada.

Non-metropolitan Turnaround Pervades

The above discussion becomes clearer upon examination of the population shifts between metropolitan and non-metropolitan areas. Over the past several decades, Canada has become more metropolitan as a result of increased numbers of people moving from non-metropolitan areas to metropolitan areas, increased concentration of immigrants in metropolitan areas and areal expansion of these areas. In 1991, about three fifths of Canada's total population lived in one of the 25 census metropolitan areas (CMAs), and the remaining two fifths in non-metropolitan areas. After having seen continuous declines in their population growth for quite some time, as shown in **Chart 6.1**, non-metropolitan areas experienced an unexpected reversal in the 1970s, when they grew more rapidly and exhibited a population growth parallel to that of metropolitan areas – a phenomenon unprecedented in Canadian history.

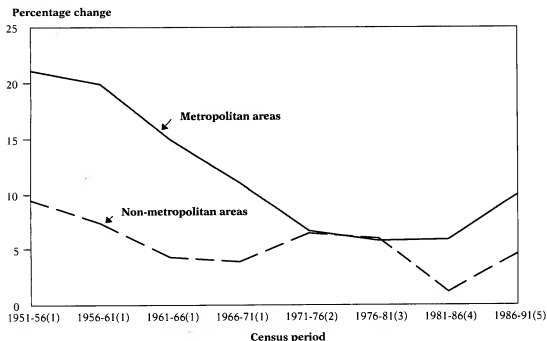
In the period between 1971 and 1976, population growth in non-metropolitan areas was only slightly below that in metropolitan areas (6.5% versus 6.7%), while in the following five-year period the population growth in non-metropolitan areas slightly exceeded that observed for metropolitan areas (6.0% versus 5.8%). This new phenomenon, which has become known as the “non-metropolitan turnaround,” resulted from more people moving from metropolitan areas to non-metropolitan areas than in the opposite direction.

Table 6.2 shows that in contrast with the 1966-71 period, when non-metropolitan areas lost 121,000 persons through out-migration to metropolitan areas, the reverse happened between 1971 and 1976: 776,000 people moved from metropolitan to non-metropolitan areas, while only 675,000 moved in the opposite direction, for a net gain of about 101,000 to non-metropolitan areas. This trend, which persisted through the latter part of the decade (although in a subdued manner) was reversed in the early 1980s, when migration back to metropolitan areas increased.

From 1981 to 1986, metropolitan areas experienced a net gain of 171,000 persons resulting from out-migration from non-metropolitan areas. Although for the most recent intercensal period (1986-91), metropolitan areas have retained their momentum by growing at a faster rate (10%) than previously, much of this can be attributed to immigration from abroad rather than to internal migration. In fact, during this period, 63,000 more people moved out of metropolitan areas than moved in, excluding immigration and emigration. However, given this small number, it is difficult to suggest whether non-metropolitan areas are becoming attractive once again.

Chart 6.1

Population Growth for Census Metropolitan and Non-metropolitan Areas, Canada, 1951-56 – 1986-91



Note: (1) 1971 CMA's boundaries; (2) 1976 boundaries;
(3) 1981 boundaries; (4) 1986 boundaries; and (5) 1991 boundaries.

- Sources: (1) R. Paul Shaw, *Intermetropolitan Migration in Canada*. Catalogue No. 89-504E, Appendix Table A.1.1.
(2) Statistics Canada, *Population: Demographic Characteristics*. 1976 Census of Canada, Catalogue No. 92-823, Table 14.
(3) Statistics Canada, *Final Population Counts, 1976 and 1981, CMA's and Census Agglomerations, and Components*. 1981 Census of Canada, Catalogue No. E-523.
(4) Statistics Canada, *Census Metropolitan Areas and Census Agglomerations*. 1986 Census of Canada, Catalogue No. 92-104, Table 2.
(5) Statistics Canada, *Profile of Census Metropolitan Areas and Census Agglomerations – Part A*. 1991 Census of Canada, Catalogue No. 93-337, Table 1.

Table 6.2

Metropolitan – Non-metropolitan Migration of Canadian-born Population Aged 5 Years and Over, Canada, 1966-71 to 1986-91

Period	Total	Between CMA's	From non-CMA's to CMA's	From CMA's to non-CMA's	Non-metropolitan gains and losses
Number ('000)					
1966-71	1,749	502	684	563	-121
1971-76	2,005	554	675	776	101
1976-81	2,155	670	712	773	61
1981-86	2,012	678	755	584	-171
1986-91	2,257	759	718	781	63
Percent distribution					
1966-71	100.0	28.7	39.1	32.2	-
1971-76	100.0	27.6	33.7	38.7	-
1976-81	100.0	31.1	33.0	35.9	-
1981-86	100.0	33.7	37.5	28.8	-
1986-91	100.0	33.6	31.8	34.6	-

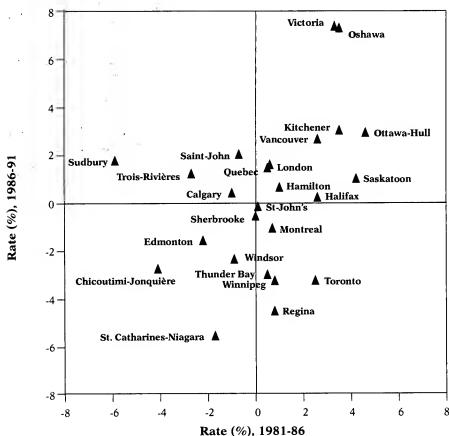
Sources: Paul Shaw, *Intermetropolitan Migration in Canada*. Catalogue No. 89-504E, Page 14.
 Statistics Canada, *Mobility and Migration*. 1991 Census of Canada,
 Catalogue No. 93-322, Table 2C.

The global discussion of metropolitan/non-metropolitan migration presented above masks much of the variation that exists in Canada. **Chart 6.2**, which plots net migration rates for all 25 CMAs for the 1981-86 and 1986-91 periods, reveals marked variability among metropolitan areas. Oshawa and Victoria were seen as the most attractive destinations of migrants in the 1980s. These metropolitan areas experienced the largest increases in net migration rates over the two intercensal periods. It is interesting to note, however, that during 1986-91 while a substantial proportion (44%) of Victoria's migrants had non-metropolitan origin, most of Oshawa's migrants had come from other metropolitan areas – three fifths from the neighbouring city of Toronto alone (See **Appendix Table A.3b**).

Ottawa-Hull, Kitchener and Vancouver have also retained their tempo by keeping their net migration rates stable throughout the 1980s. As the national capital, Ottawa-Hull has attracted people from all parts of the country, while Kitchener has depended mainly on Toronto and other neighbouring CMAs. Vancouver, Canada's third-largest CMA, has attracted migrants from all parts of the country, both metropolitan and non-metropolitan.

Chart 6.2

Internal Net Migration Rates, Census Metropolitan Areas, 1981-86 and 1986-91



Sources: Table A.3a and Table A.3b in Appendix.

Metropolitan areas that have consistently had net out-migration over the two intercensal periods included Chicoutimi-Jonquière, Edmonton, Windsor and St. Catharines-Niagara. More than half of the migrants from these areas had moved to other metropolitan areas. While the losses of Chicoutimi-Jonquière and Edmonton have slowed down over this period, losses of St. Catharines-Niagara and Windsor have augmented. In relative terms, St. Catharines-Niagara's loss was the biggest of all CMAs, at 5.5% (10,440 persons) during the 1986-91 period, mostly in favour of Hamilton and Toronto.

Among the metropolitan areas that experienced a turnaround during the 1980s, Toronto and Montreal – Canada's two largest CMAs – emerge prominently. While both had a net gain through internal migration during 1981-86, Toronto had a net loss of 3.2% (115,000 persons) and Montreal had a net loss of 1.0% (30,000 persons) during 1986-91. While most

(62%) of Toronto's migrants during the latter period moved to other metropolitan areas – mostly to the neighbouring areas of Hamilton, Kitchener, London, Oshawa and St. Catharines-Niagara – the opposite was true for migrants from Montreal, most (60%) of whom left for non-metropolitan areas. Similar reversals occurred in Regina, Thunder Bay and Winnipeg (see **Appendix Tables A.3a and A.3b**).

There were only four metropolitan areas – Calgary, Saint John, Sudbury and Trois-Rivières – that have experienced gains through net in-migration in the most recent intercensal periods after having lost during the preceding period. Calgary's case is particularly interesting in this regard. After the decline of the oil industry, this CMA suffered a persistent loss through out-migration until the 1986-91 period, when it exhibited a gain, although much smaller in magnitude. Sudbury also stands out clearly. It made a net gain of 1.8% during 1986-91; during the earlier period, it was at the bottom of the list of metropolitan areas, exhibiting a net loss of 5.9%.



Conclusion

With the declining importance of natural increase, internal migration has become the critical component of regional, provincial and metropolitan population changes in Canada. Unlike other determinants of population growth (i.e., births, deaths, and international migration), internal migration can change rather abruptly and in an unpredictable manner. The downturn of Alberta's net migration following the decline of its oil industry in the 1980s, the large exodus of Anglophones from Quebec in the late 1970s, and the non-metropolitan turnaround in the 1970s are some such examples, all of which had a significant influence on the social and economic life of the country.

By examining the role of migration in redistributing population from one geographic region to another, this study demonstrated that the losses of one region became the gains of others, not only in terms of the size of the population but also in terms of its qualities. As migration is selective of younger, better-educated and skilled people, internal migration and population redistribution may have been important forces behind the economic growth of receiving regions at the expense of sending regions. The experiences of provinces such as Newfoundland, Quebec, Manitoba and Saskatchewan are particularly noteworthy in this regard, as they have had continuous net out-migration over the past two decades. At the other end of the spectrum is British Columbia, which has continued to gain.

Changes in migration as a component of local population growth have also attracted the attention of academics, the media, policy makers and the public in general. Particularly intriguing was the non-metropolitan turnaround of the 1970s, when more people moved into non-metropolitan areas than moved out, reversing a long-established trend. Although this new trend was short-lived and reverted to the old track in the early 1980s – with large numbers of people again moving into metropolitan areas – certain non-metropolitan areas seem to have gained momentum by the late 1980s. These back and forth movements

between metropolitan and non-metropolitan areas warrant further research into underlying causes and future trends.

In Canada, the 1970s was a period of extraordinary geographic mobility. During this period, a very large number of Canadians moved from one city or province to another. It was also a period during which non-metropolitan areas experienced for the first time a net-gain through out-migration from metropolitan areas. These trends coincided with the entrance of baby-boomers to the age groups 20 to 24, 25 to 29, 30 to 34 and 35 to 39 – the groups exhibiting the highest mobility rates. Although inferring a causal linkage between these events would be premature without a thorough analysis, it is likely that the changes in the age structure of the population brought about by the maturing of the baby-boom, may have had an impact on geographic mobility. If there is validity to this hypothesis, the roles played by the exit of baby-boomers from these age groups and the entrance of "baby-busters" into them, must be taken into account in regard to the future course of migration and urbanization.

Although a region's economic climate may be the prime factor behind most moves, this study found that people, particularly women, do not necessarily gain economically by migrating to a new destination in the short term. It is likely that economic factors such as wage differentials have become less important determinants of migration in Canada.

Migration may also serve as a mechanism for increasing cultural assimilation of ethnic groups, immigrants and minorities into the mainstream of Canadian society. This study demonstrated that immigrants in general, and certain cultural groups, are more mobile than others. For example, while Southeast and East Asians were among the least likely to move from one city to another within a province, they topped the list of intramunicipal movers. Southern Europeans were the least mobile group, both within or between cities.

Migration is a complex demographic process. In addition to its being influenced by numerous factors at individual and family levels, it is inextricably linked with both economic and non-economic climates of Canada and its various geographic regions. In order to understand this process clearly, we need to go beyond the simple approaches used in this study, employing one or two variables in drawing conclusions. Thus, many of the findings of this study are tentative and suggest further research involving multivariate analysis. In addition to censuses, other sources of migration data in Canada, including surveys (e.g., General Social Survey) and administrative records (e.g., taxation), need to be exploited for a more complete picture.

Appendix Tables

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Table A.1

Internal Migrants Aged 5 Years and Over by Province or Territory of Previous and Current Residence,
Canada, 1976-81, 1981-86 and 1986-91

1976-81

Place of residence 1976	Place of residence 1981												Total out-migration
	Newfoundland	Prince Edward Island	Nova Scotia	New Brunswick	Quebec	Ontario	Manitoba	Saskatchewan	Alberta	British Columbia	Yukon Territory	North-west Territories	
Newfoundland	0	555	6090	2165	1420	13255	1445	700	8835	3085	170	550	38270
Prince Edward Island	250	0	2370	1375	180	2245	185	215	2365	670	40	55	9950
Nova Scotia	3135	1945	0	8465	2995	20060	1960	1490	14585	7615	145	485	62880
New Brunswick	1315	1600	8920	0	6370	13715	1425	925	11180	4140	105	270	49965
Quebec	1465	920	6150	10195	0	123705	4260	2385	31305	21760	335	550	203030
Ontario	9720	3310	20930	13995	39385	0	21745	13145	126730	75825	1395	2460	328640
Manitoba	720	120	1895	1035	1795	17850	0	13525	34640	24885	300	860	97625
Saskatchewan	175	230	810	515	770	6770	7330	0	35030	16665	280	645	69220
Alberta	765	655	3600	1830	2990	24670	8110	19860	0	73865	1110	1725	139180
British Columbia	595	510	3370	1735	4745	26675	7025	10145	65410	0	2285	1130	123625
Yukon Territory	45	40	125	75	70	570	105	290	1900	3835	0	165	7220
North-west Territories	225	50	200	75	585	1055	435	720	4845	2210	510	0	10910
Total in-migration	18410	9935	54460	41460	61305	250570	54025	63400	336825	234555	6675	8895	1140515
Total net migration	-19860	-15	-8420	-8505	-141725	-78070	-43600	-5820	197645	110930	-545	-2015	0

Source: 1981 Census of Canada, unpublished tabulation.

Table A.1
Internal Migrants Aged 5 Years and Over by Province or Territory of Previous and Current Residence,
Canada, 1976-81, 1981-86 and 1986-91 (continued)

1981-86

Place of residence 1981	Place of residence 1981												Total out-migration
	New-found-land	Prince Edward Island	Nova Scotia	New Brunswick	Quebec	Ontario	Manitoba	Saskatchewan	Alberta	British Columbia	Yukon Territory	North-west Territories	
Newfoundland	0	575	6230	1975	670	15055	925	410	5345	1970	40	445	33640
Prince Edward Island	295	0	2030	1260	290	2035	200	115	1250	410	15	50	7950
Nova Scotia	2775	1930	0	6680	3230	20150	1490	790	6415	4845	40	370	48715
New Brunswick	890	1400	7885	0	5825	13015	1320	650	4470	2070	35	340	37900
Quebec	830	605	4405	6980	0	90975	2815	1615	11175	10270	110	435	130215
Ontario	6705	2600	17395	10195	37470	0	16085	8370	45465	39420	760	1705	186170
Manitoba	535	175	1390	845	1855	17790	0	9150	13665	12110	130	595	58240
Saskatchewan	420	205	950	635	985	9435	8800	0	23930	11210	290	660	57520
Alberta	3315	1405	9195	5395	10250	70420	14840	22450	0	64350	900	2445	204965
British Columbia	985	365	5060	2250	5835	43740	9305	10250	60740	0	1865	1780	142175
Yukon Territory	60	70	145	145	55	1020	195	275	1615	3515	0	180	7275
North-west Territories	280	160	305	170	455	1890	710	615	3220	1520	435	0	9760
Total in-migration	17090	9490	54990	36530	66920	285525	56685	54690	177290	151690	4620	9005	924525
Total net migration	-16550	1540	6275	-1370	-63295	99355	-1555	-2830	-27675	9515	-2655	-755	0

Source: 1986 Census of Canada, *Mobility Status and Interprovincial Migration*, Catalogue No. 93-108, Table 10.

Table A.1
Internal Migrants Aged 5 Years and Over by Province or Territory of Previous and Current Residence,
Canada, 1976-81, 1981-86 and 1986-91 (concluded)

1986-91

Place of residence 1986	Place of residence 1981												Total out-migration
	New-found-land	Prince Edward Island	Nova Scotia	New Brunswick	Quebec	Ontario	Manitoba	Saskatchewan	Alberta	British Columbia	Yukon Territory	North-west Territories	
Newfoundland	0	530	6250	1685	770	18090	840	280	3115	2530	175	415	34680
Prince Edward Island	195	0	2320	1535	980	3135	95	170	650	450	25	80	9635
Nova Scotia	3110	2110	0	7900	4015	26485	1340	690	5780	6050	140	515	58135
New Brunswick	1170	1190	8945	0	6565	16130	1230	575	3195	2625	55	210	41890
Quebec	1975	510	3250	6485	0	72780	1950	980	7480	11500	140	505	107555
Ontario	9445	2605	19870	11415	51430	0	12870	6365	39010	67830	780	1400	223020
Manitoba	625	290	1880	1085	3945	23080	0	7495	17125	22510	425	855	79315
Saskatchewan	250	180	805	610	1820	13955	9350	0	44025	26050	400	1145	98590
Alberta	2470	1005	5320	3070	6500	55645	9575	14500	0	92580	1365	2995	195025
British Columbia	1215	295	3980	1845	5530	37745	6140	6450	45275	0	2525	1300	112300
Yukon Territory	10	0	35	50	110	830	90	115	1090	3225	0	115	5670
North-west Territories	270	70	595	150	330	2110	575	605	3275	2820	430	0	11230
Total in-migration	20735	8785	53250	35830	81995	269985	44055	38225	170020	238170	6460	9535	977045
Total net migration	-13945	-850	-4885	-6060	-25560	46965	-35260	-60365	-25005	125870	790	-1695	0

Source: 1991 Census of Canada, *Mobility and Migration*, Catalogue No. 93-322, Table 3.

Table A.2a
Mother Tongue of Internal Migrants, Aged 5 Years and Over by Province or Territory of Residence
In 1976 and 1981

English Place of residence 1976	Place of residence 1981												Total out- migration
	New-found- land	Prince Edward Island	Nova Scotia	New Brunswick	Quebec	Ontario	Manitoba	Saskat- chewan	Alberta	British Columbia	Yukon Territory	North- west Territories	
Newfoundland	0	555	5920	2090	640	12765	1365	665	8600	2970	170	535	36275
Prince Edward Island	240	0	2290	1295	135	2060	180	195	2280	630	40	55	9400
Nova Scotia	3030	1860	0	7785	1755	18510	1855	1435	13875	7180	145	460	57890
New Brunswick	1250	1500	8115	0	1730	11160	1220	825	9255	3545	85	230	38915
Quebec	1175	680	4405	3905	0	83380	2815	1300	19260	14160	210	240	131530
Ontario	9485	3075	19350	11335	15675	0	18380	11300	109250	65410	1285	2100	266645
Manitoba	695	115	1795	950	885	15065	0	11595	29115	20385	235	660	81495
Saskatchewan	175	215	755	475	435	5975	6235	0	31405	14595	250	575	61090
Alberta	745	645	3325	1660	1390	21940	7015	17530	0	64470	1000	1530	121250
British Columbia	560	490	3155	1515	2375	23090	5985	9025	57730	0	2130	990	107045
Yukon Territory	45	45	120	80	25	460	90	230	1715	3410	0	150	6370
North-west Territories	230	50	185	65	165	915	350	650	4265	1895	460	0	9230
Total in-migration	17630	9230	49415	31155	25210	195320	45490	54750	286750	198650	6010	7525	927135
Total net migration	-18645	-170	-8475	-7760	-106320	-71325	-36005	-6340	165500	91605	-360	-1705	0

Table A.2a
Mother Tongue of Internal Migrants, Aged 5 Years and Over by Province or Territory of Residence
In 1976 and 1981 (continued)

French Place of residence 1976	Place of residence 1981												Total out- migration
	New- found- land	Prince Edward Island	Nova Scotia	New Brunswick	Quebec	Ontario	Manitoba	Saskat- chewan	Alberta	British Columbia	Yukon Territory	North- west Territories	
Newfoundland	0	0	75	60	710	170	0	25	75	50	0	0	1165
Prince Edward Island	5	0	60	80	45	130	5	15	65	35	0	0	440
Nova Scotia	80	50	0	545	1150	625	70	30	350	150	0	15	3065
New Brunswick	55	90	665	0	4560	2070	160	80	1735	500	20	30	9965
Quebec	230	230	1510	6060	0	26240	1095	890	8380	4945	120	250	49950
Ontario	80	155	885	2255	20735	0	940	635	5590	2465	50	140	33930
Manitoba	15	0	50	35	725	665	0	425	1430	615	0	20	3980
Saskatchewan	0	5	15	35	305	230	295	0	710	225	0	25	1845
Alberta	20	5	170	130	1375	780	380	460	0	1175	10	40	4545
British Columbia	10	20	135	180	2040	895	190	195	1090	0	35	20	4810
Yukon Territory	0	0	0	0	45	45	0	5	55	115	0	0	265
North-west Territories	20	0	0	10	175	60	20	20	175	60	15	0	555
Total in-migration	515	555	3565	9390	31865	31910	3155	2780	19655	10335	250	540	114515
Total net migration	-650	115	500	-575	-18085	-2020	-825	935	15110	5525	-15	-15	0

Table A.2a
Mother Tongue of Internal Migrants, Aged 5 Years and Over by Province or Territory of Residence
In 1976 and 1981 (concluded)

Other Place of residence 1976	Place of residence 1981												Total out- migration
	New- found- land	Prince Edward Island	Nova Scotia	New Brunswick	Quebec	Ontario	Manitoba	Saskat- chewan	Alberta	British Columbia	Yukon Territory	North- west Territories	
Newfoundland	0	0	85	15	70	320	75	10	160	65	0	5	805
Prince Edward Island	0	0	25	5	0	55	5	5	20	5	0	0	120
Nova Scotia	20	35	0	130	80	930	35	25	360	285	0	10	1910
New Brunswick	20	10	135	0	80	490	45	15	190	95	0	10	1090
Quebec	60	15	235	230	0	14080	360	195	3670	2655	5	60	21565
Ontario	155	80	695	405	2970	0	2420	1200	11890	7950	60	220	28045
Manitoba	10	0	50	50	180	2120	0	1510	4090	3885	60	180	12135
Saskatchewan	0	0	30	10	30	570	800	0	2915	1845	20	40	6260
Alberta	5	5	105	40	230	1960	725	1870	0	8225	100	160	13425
British Columbia	15	0	80	40	330	2685	850	925	6590	0	115	115	11745
Yukon Territory	0	0	10	0	0	65	10	55	130	305	0	20	595
North-west Territories	0	5	15	0	245	75	70	45	405	260	40	0	1160
Total in-migration	285	150	1465	925	4215	23350	5395	5855	30420	25575	400	820	98855
Total net migration	-520	30	-445	-165	-17350	-4695	-6740	-405	16995	13830	-195	-340	0

Source: 1981 Census of Canada, unpublished tabulation.

Table A.2b

Mother Tongue of Internal Migrants, Aged 5 Years and Over by Province or Territory of Residence In 1981 and 1986

English Place of residence 1981	Place of residence 1986												Total out- migration
	New- found- land	Prince Edward Island	Nova Scotia	New Brunswick	Quebec	Ontario	Manitoba	Saskat- chewan	Alberta	British Columbia	Yukon Territory	North- west Territories	
Newfoundland	0	565	6105	1795	470	14335	895	385	5090	1880	45	425	31990
Prince Edward Island	290	0	1960	1145	200	1825	180	110	1180	390	10	40	7330
Nova Scotia	2655	1770	0	6170	2020	18225	1410	705	6000	4315	40	350	43660
New Brunswick	820	1180	7160	0	1335	10145	1165	570	3825	1820	25	310	28355
Quebec	580	375	2355	1780	0	49855	1275	670	5750	4855	30	100	67625
Ontario	6470	2295	16080	8055	14980	0	13325	7260	39060	33435	680	1455	143095
Manitoba	535	165	1250	765	895	14325	0	7985	11590	9465	100	480	47555
Saskatchewan	380	190	860	540	465	7940	7625	0	21285	9445	255	590	49575
Alberta	3260	1330	8715	4190	3775	60025	12485	20075	0	55835	840	2145	172675
British Columbia	905	365	4670	1995	2550	36800	7930	9085	54045	0	1660	1610	121615
Yukon Territory	55	70	145	125	20	870	175	235	1495	3165	0	160	6515
North-west Territories	260	155	295	125	170	1575	590	535	2765	1340	390	0	8200
Total in-migration	16210	8460	49595	26685	26880	215920	47055	47615	152085	125945	4075	7665	728190
Total net migration	-15780	1130	5935	-1670	-40745	72825	-500	-1960	-20590	4330	-2440	-535	0

Table A.2b

Mother Tongue of Internal Migrants, Aged 5 Years and Over by Province or Territory of Residence In 1981 and 1986 (continued)

French Place of residence 1981	Place of residence 1986												Total out- migration
	New- found- land	Prince Edward Island	Nova Scotia	New Brunswick	Quebec	Ontario	Manitoba	Saskat- chewan	Alberta	British Columbia	Yukon Territory	North- west Territories	
Newfoundland	0	10	60	140	115	265	10	5	65	30	0	10	710
Prince Edward Island	5	0	40	80	45	130	10	10	40	10	0	10	380
Nova Scotia	50	135	0	330	875	600	20	15	150	265	0	5	2445
New Brunswick	45	160	420	0	3830	1805	85	30	450	100	10	15	6950
Quebec	190	180	1780	4760	0	27155	1130	725	3640	3635	70	230	43495
Ontario	110	165	580	1465	17390	0	680	205	1580	1400	35	115	23725
Manitoba	0	5	85	55	580	675	0	245	285	370	15	25	2340
Saskatchewan	10	0	45	55	445	395	315	0	460	215	15	20	1975
Alberta	15	55	185	955	5245	3025	610	515	0	1140	25	80	11850
British Columbia	5	0	195	150	2340	1275	270	210	885	0	50	55	5435
Yukon Territory	0	0	0	15	35	55	5	15	30	55	0	10	220
North-west Territories	15	0	0	25	190	110	20	40	95	45	20	0	560
Total in-migration	445	710	3390	8030	31090	35490	3155	2015	7680	7265	240	575	100085
Total net migration	-265	330	945	1080	-12405	11765	815	40	-4170	1830	20	15	0

Table A.2b

Mother Tongue of Internal Migrants, Aged 5 Years and Over by Province or Territory of Residence In 1981 and 1986 (concluded)

Other Place of residence 1981	Place of residence 1986												Total out- migration
	New- found- land	Prince Edward Island	Nova Scotia	New Brunswick	Quebec	Ontario	Manitoba	Saskat- chewan	Alberta	British Columbia	Yukon Territory	North- west Territories	
Newfoundland	0	0	70	40	85	455	15	20	195	55	0	10	945
Prince Edward Island	0	0	30	35	45	75	5	0	30	10	0	0	230
Nova Scotia	65	30	0	180	330	1325	60	75	265	255	0	15	2600
New Brunswick	20	55	300	0	660	1065	65	50	200	145	0	15	2575
Quebec	65	55	280	440	0	13970	410	220	1785	1780	5	105	19115
Ontario	130	140	735	675	5100	0	2080	905	4820	4580	45	135	19345
Manitoba	0	5	60	25	380	2790	0	920	1785	2280	15	85	8345
Saskatchewan	25	10	45	45	70	1095	860	0	2180	1550	20	50	5950
Alberta	40	25	290	240	1230	7370	1745	1855	0	7370	35	220	20420
British Columbia	70	0	200	105	940	5665	1100	955	5810	0	160	120	15125
Yukon Territory	5	0	0	15	0	100	10	30	90	290	0	10	550
North-west Territories	5	0	5	20	90	210	100	45	365	135	25	0	1000
Total in-migration	425	320	2015	1820	8930	34120	6450	5075	17525	18450	305	765	96200
Total net migration	-520	90	-585	-755	-10185	14775	-1895	-875	-2895	3325	-245	-235	0

Source: 1986 Census of Canada, unpublished tabulation.

Table A.2c

**Mother Tongue of Internal Migrants, Aged 5 Years and Over by Province or Territory of Residence
In 1986 and 1991**

English, single response Place of residence 1986	Place of residence 1991												Total out- migration
	New- found- land	Prince Edward Island	Nova Scotia	New Brunswick	Quebec	Ontario	Manitoba	Saskat- chewan	Alberta	British Columbia	Yukon Territory	North- west Territories	
Newfoundland	0	515	6110	1645	415	17175	825	260	2880	2245	170	410	32650
Prince Edward Island	185	0	2155	1375	260	2785	90	150	580	425	30	75	8110
Nova Scotia	3010	2055	0	7200	1875	23590	1235	650	5210	5635	140	450	51050
New Brunswick	1105	1020	8065	0	1240	12190	1095	475	2780	2140	55	165	30330
Quebec	1635	385	1890	1915	0	35475	990	465	3835	5895	40	160	52685
Ontario	9155	2440	18085	9215	20050	0	10665	5335	33200	56545	660	1195	166545
Manitoba	605	265	1650	940	1215	17270	0	6465	14705	17840	370	735	62060
Saskatchewan	230	170	730	500	735	11160	8240	0	39855	22950	360	1025	85955
Alberta	2400	900	4975	2675	2800	45275	8275	12960	0	79105	1275	2605	163245
British Columbia	1175	290	3670	1555	2245	29550	5270	5515	39990	0	2385	1150	92795
Yukon Territory	0	10	35	25	45	740	85	110	945	2855	0	100	4950
North-west Territories	250	75	580	130	80	1710	460	485	2925	2505	390	0	9590
Total in-migration	19750	8125	47945	27175	30960	196920	37230	32870	146905	198140	5875	8070	759965
Total net migration	-12900	15	-3105	-3155	-21725	30375	-24830	-53085	-16340	105345	925	-1520	0

Table A.2c
Mother Tongue of Internal Migrants, Aged 5 Years and Over by Province or Territory of Residence
In 1986 and 1991 (continued)

French, single response	Place of residence 1991												
Place of residence 1986	New-found-land	Prince Edward Island	Nova Scotia	New Brunswick	Quebec	Ontario	Manitoba	Saskatchewan	Alberta	British Columbia	Yukon Territory	North-west Territories	Total out-migration
Newfoundland	0	15	65	30	270	220	5	5	65	50	5	5	735
Prince Edward Island	5	0	125	115	640	155	0	20	55	15	0	0	1130
Nova Scotia	15	45	0	530	1900	1070	65	15	255	215	5	20	4135
New Brunswick	55	150	745	0	5075	2635	105	90	300	295	5	30	9485
Quebec	270	110	1155	4385	0	23135	780	420	2640	3735	95	265	36990
Ontario	175	115	950	1805	26120	0	680	210	1695	2110	85	75	34020
Manitoba	15	15	110	115	1900	985	0	270	475	555	15	30	4485
Saskatchewan	0	5	25	110	865	380	265	0	650	380	20	25	2725
Alberta	35	65	165	280	2925	2075	320	230	0	1575	20	75	7765
British Columbia	10	5	155	240	2540	1375	220	135	885	0	40	20	5625
Yukon Territory	0	0	0	20	65	15	0	0	35	110	0	5	250
North-west Territories	10	0	5	20	145	105	10	60	100	45	10	0	510
Total in-migration	590	525	3500	7650	42445	32150	2450	1455	7155	9085	300	550	107855
Total net migration	-145	-605	-635	-1835	5455	-1870	-2035	-1270	-610	3460	50	40	0

Table A.2c
Mother Tongue of Internal Migrants, Aged 5 Years and Over by Province or Territory of Residence
In 1986 and 1991 (continued)

Other, single response	Place of residence 1991												Total out- migration
	New- found- land	Prince Edward Island	Nova Scotia	New Brunswick	Quebec	Ontario	Manitoba	Saskat- chewan	Alberta	British Columbia	Yukon Territory	North- west Territories	
Place of residence 1986													
Newfoundland	0	5	60	10	85	655	5	15	125	210	5	0	1175
Prince Edward Island	0	0	35	30	60	160	5	0	15	10	0	5	320
Nova Scotia	80	10	0	140	150	1615	30	25	300	190	0	45	2585
New Brunswick	10	15	100	0	160	1075	30	10	80	175	0	5	1660
Quebec	50	0	180	90	0	12495	140	80	780	1590	0	75	15480
Ontario	100	40	730	275	4385	0	1375	775	3705	8440	30	110	19965
Manitoba	10	0	100	25	755	4355	0	705	1710	3785	45	75	11565
Saskatchewan	20	0	50	5	195	2230	760	0	3165	2490	10	95	9020
Alberta	30	10	170	80	655	7550	885	1150	0	11295	65	275	22165
British Columbia	30	0	140	35	675	6415	590	730	3980	0	90	110	12795
Yukon Territory	0	0	10	0	0	65	0	5	85	235	0	10	410
North-west Territories	5	0	0	0	105	270	75	40	235	260	30	0	1020
Total in-migration	335	80	1575	690	7225	36885	3895	3535	14180	28680	275	805	98160
Total net migration	-840	-240	-1010	-970	-8255	16920	-7670	-5485	-7985	15885	-135	-215	0

Table A.2c
Mother Tongue of Internal Migrants, Aged 5 Years and Over by Province or Territory of Residence
In 1986 and 1991 (continued)

English and French Place of residence 1986	Place of residence 1991												Total out- migration
	New- found- land	Prince Edward Island	Nova Scotia	New Brunswick	Quebec	Ontario	Manitoba	Saskat- chewan	Alberta	British Columbia	Yukon Territory	North- west Territories	
Newfoundland	0	0	10	0	0	0	5	0	0	10	0	0	25
Prince Edward Island	0	0	5	0	0	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	15
Nova Scotia	0	0	0	15	70	120	0	0	20	0	0	0	225
New Brunswick	0	0	25	0	80	165	0	0	35	20	0	0	325
Quebec	15	10	20	85	0	885	30	10	155	190	0	10	1410
Ontario	5	5	75	105	690	0	50	0	185	160	0	10	1285
Manitoba	0	0	15	0	20	130	0	5	60	45	0	5	280
Saskatchewan	0	0	0	0	10	30	10	0	75	30	0	0	155
Alberta	0	35	5	30	85	165	30	30	0	95	0	10	485
British Columbia	0	0	5	0	40	80	15	20	100	0	0	15	275
Yukon Territory	0	0	0	0	0	5	5	0	0	5	0	0	15
North-west Territories	0	0	0	0	0	15	0	0	0	0	0	0	15
Total in-migration	20	50	160	235	995	1605	145	65	630	555	0	50	4510
Total net migration	-5	35	-65	-90	-415	320	-135	-90	145	280	-15	35	0

Table A.2c
Mother Tongue of Internal Migrants, Aged 5 Years and Over by Province or Territory of Residence
In 1986 and 1991 (concluded)

Place of residence 1986	Place of residence 1991												Total out-migration
	Newfoundland	Prince Edward Island	Nova Scotia	New Brunswick	Quebec	Ontario	Manitoba	Saskatchewan	Alberta	British Columbia	Yukon Territory	North-west Territories	
Newfoundland	0	0	10	0	0	40	0	0	45	20	0	0	115
Prince Edward Island	0	0	5	10	30	30	0	0	0	0	0	0	75
Nova Scotia	10	0	0	15	25	90	15	5	5	10	0	5	180
New Brunswick	0	0	10	0	10	65	0	0	0	0	0	0	85
Quebec	0	0	0	15	0	785	5	0	65	85	0	0	955
Ontario	10	5	35	20	185	0	105	40	215	570	0	10	1195
Manitoba	0	0	5	0	50	340	0	50	175	285	0	10	915
Saskatchewan	0	0	0	0	15	150	75	0	280	205	0	5	730
Alberta	0	0	0	0	25	575	70	130	0	505	5	25	1335
British Columbia	0	0	10	5	30	325	35	50	325	0	10	5	795
Yukon Territory	0	0	0	5	0	10	0	0	20	20	0	0	55
North-west Territories	5	0	10	0	0	20	20	15	20	10	0	0	100
Total in-migration	25	5	85	70	370	2430	325	290	1150	1710	15	60	6535
Total net migration	-90	-70	-95	-15	-585	1235	-590	-440	-185	915	-40	-40	0

Source: 1991 Census of Canada, *Mobility and Migration*, Catalogue No. 93-322, Table 4.

Table A.3a
Intermetropolitan Migrants Aged 5 Years and Over, Census Metropolitan Areas, 1981-1986

CMA in 1986	Total	CMA in 1981													
		Calgary	Chicoutimi-Jonquière	Edmonton	Halifax	Hamilton	Kitchener	London	Montreal	Oshawa	Ottawa-Hull	Quebec	Regina	Saskatoon	
Total	2013065	110165	15895	112835	35860	43815	29350	42600	163350	25460	72850	47025	24805	26830	
Calgary	104060	0	65	14705	1195	1210	640	1320	3715	315	2045	325	1895	2175	
Chicoutimi-Jonquière	9995	40	0	85	135	0	20	10	1315	0	235	1430	5	0	
Edmonton	97285	9605	45	0	905	690	310	795	2435	165	1860	235	1375	1855	
Halifax	42920	1875	100	1535	0	395	180	520	1525	115	1765	280	130	65	
Hamilton	48710	1300	20	990	360	0	1755	1680	2080	460	935	95	110	165	
Kitchener	39345	1235	0	825	310	1770	0	2035	1175	355	535	25	40	85	
London	44580	1545	10	1225	275	1735	1490	0	1015	375	1240	25	205	170	
Montreal	181125	2285	5555	1840	1245	420	340	455	0	215	7445	18860	285	145	
Oshawa	32000	900	0	610	175	420	305	820	1010	0	480	50	120	35	
Ottawa-Hull	107675	5015	615	3730	2645	1195	1260	1785	12940	400	0	2965	785	505	
Quebec	49695	180	3245	225	115	45	30	15	8150	10	1285	0	20	10	
Regina	26195	1415	10	1500	100	105	60	155	255	95	480	5	0	2685	
Saskatoon	34525	2215	5	2140	115	125	100	225	220	30	360	0	2840	0	
Sherbrooke	15770	180	245	195	15	15	5	5	2795	15	250	995	0	0	
St. Catharines-Niagara	23510	685	0	560	175	2660	715	810	870	260	635	55	70	40	
St. John's	15195	575	5	475	810	80	105	105	240	10	230	35	20	15	
Saint John	10050	375	5	230	985	120	20	70	380	5	185	30	25	40	
Sudbury	11540	300	15	180	40	130	145	270	245	35	410	85	0	35	
Thunder Bay	10855	430	0	260	15	125	105	135	95	60	185	5	105	60	
Toronto	264770	12740	205	9555	4100	14735	7965	11725	31630	11245	13395	1560	970	895	
Trois Rivières	12415	60	260	95	15	30	0	15	2330	0	145	1015	0	0	
Vancouver	135230	11460	50	11980	1025	1010	740	850	4975	215	3150	305	1500	1455	
Victoria	41115	2695	10	2640	1260	255	115	250	720	60	1155	115	440	375	
Windsor	16985	865	0	410	150	485	290	1505	370	175	255	20	60	20	
Winnipeg	57055	3770	115	3255	375	380	195	480	1330	110	1360	185	1450	1370	
Non-CMA	580475	48430	5310	53570	19320	15670	12475	16575	81535	10745	32820	18330	12355	14640	

Table A.3a

Intermetropolitan Migrants Aged 5 Years and Over, Census Metropolitan Areas, 1981-1986 – concluded

CMA in 1986	CMA in 1981													Total CMA
	Sherbrooke	St. Catharines	St. John's	Saint John	Sudbury	Thunder Bay	Toronto	Trois Rivières	Vancouver	Victoria	Windsor	Winnipeg	Non-CMA	
Total	15790	28770	15000	10820	19675	10260	184495	15675	102095	33335	19085	52295	754935	1258130
Calgary	85	710	730	290	265	330	7515	35	6805	1875	675	3835	51315	52745
Chicoutimi-Jonquière	165	15	5	0	5	0	95	205	15	0	0	45	6185	3810
Edmonton	50	475	580	260	380	315	4095	75	5055	1580	415	2795	60935	36350
Halifax	40	260	1205	1040	100	110	2970	15	940	1005	135	595	26020	16900
Hamilton	45	4185	165	175	490	205	12280	5	1100	250	750	505	18605	30105
Kitchener	20	940	225	35	555	175	7200	5	750	130	400	370	20130	19215
London	25	935	125	50	540	315	6580	20	735	205	1875	545	23320	21260
Montreal	5105	245	250	315	265	130	6715	6440	2670	365	235	1140	118155	62970
Oshawa	0	490	55	15	285	145	12550	0	340	140	275	100	12690	19310
Ottawa-Hull	780	900	995	310	2090	400	10510	360	2830	1080	635	1960	50980	56695
Quebec	1240	5	15	65	15	0	440	1855	180	110	15	90	32350	17345
Regina	15	115	30	65	55	85	795	0	785	270	15	1280	15800	10395
Saskatoon	5	85	25	25	85	75	705	20	855	320	45	1215	22690	11835
Sherbrooke	0	0	0	0	0	25	60	310	45	0	0	0	10610	5160
St. Catharines Niagara	45	0	105	70	395	155	5140	10	360	120	325	195	9040	14470
St. John's	0	55	0	95	20	15	935	5	230	35	5	45	11070	4125
Saint John	0	60	210	0	5	50	560	10	115	65	15	60	6435	3615
Sudbury	20	300	35	25	0	155	1465	40	80	25	60	110	7335	4205
Thunder Bay	0	240	20	0	225	0	970	0	255	45	110	510	6915	3940
Toronto	265	7820	2260	1010	4550	1795	0	80	11950	1900	4615	5675	102135	162635
Trois Rivières	165	10	10	10	5	5	40	0	25	5	15	0	8160	4255
Vancouver	95	735	320	325	210	305	9735	60	0	9005	435	5535	69765	65465
Victoria	20	225	120	55	50	90	1525	25	6410	0	80	1065	21360	19755
Windsor	15	275	85	5	205	55	2105	0	435	110	0	150	8935	8050
Winnipeg	20	750	90	155	225	875	2790	30	3000	570	175	0	34005	23050
Non-CMA	7585	8950	7340	6415	8650	4450	86730	6060	56120	14130	7805	24470	0	580475

Source: 1986 Census of Canada, unpublished tabulation.

Table A.3b
Intermetropolitan Migrants Aged 5 Years and Over, Census Metropolitan Areas, 1986-1991

CMA in 1991	Total	CMA in 1986												
		Calgary	Chicoutimi-Jonquière	Edmonton	Halifax	Hamilton	Kitchener	London	Montreal	Oshawa	Ottawa-Hull	Quebec	Regina	Saskatoon
Total	2257470	103515	15185	109065	43075	54440	41090	44500	194500	31000	84545	50395	32850	41910
Calgary	106620	0	20	14835	1255	705	510	835	2745	555	1805	130	4370	5060
Chicoutimi-Jonquière	11160	5	0	30	105	0	0	0	2055	0	205	1540	5	0
Edmonton	97325	10345	60	0	915	650	390	640	1250	160	1275	215	2360	3665
Halifax	43830	895	75	805	0	250	290	385	1235	140	1915	200	45	210
Hamilton	58220	1130	30	1140	675	0	1810	1800	1800	430	1220	110	320	235
Kitchener	51085	775	10	920	390	2185	0	2170	845	700	960	70	125	140
London	50180	1180	20	990	395	1675	1705	0	1020	600	1065	115	260	255
Montreal	164770	1835	4995	1340	1465	660	450	575	0	415	8945	18825	175	430
Oshawa	46860	675	5	685	145	495	410	485	920	0	770	25	90	80
Ottawa-Hull	109555	2735	615	3170	3605	1425	1490	1715	14855	720	0	3160	745	675
Quebec	59250	125	3305	100	370	40	30	70	10865	40	1830	0	15	55
Regina	25065	1290	0	960	90	135	50	80	110	15	175	65	0	3245
Saskatoon	31470	1285	0	1135	100	80	65	30	95	20	320	60	3380	0
Sherbrooke	17960	35	345	20	35	45	20	35	3900	0	250	970	0	20
St. Catharines-Niagara	31585	490	5	575	150	5560	760	880	750	445	750	50	70	165
St. John's	18005	305	0	250	770	100	275	110	185	135	330	10	15	0
Saint John	11095	265	0	160	990	65	15	145	345	70	425	50	30	0
Sudbury	18865	275	15	215	35	355	390	450	295	265	840	70	55	85
Thunder Bay	10165	260	0	315	75	120	60	130	165	130	420	20	100	120
Toronto	212445	8870	100	7220	4980	12780	7540	9540	23410	8140	12830	1080	1510	1775
Trois Rivières	15020	0	325	60	25	0	10	5	2835	5	280	1060	0	0
Vancouver	165620	14725	40	14280	1410	1665	1180	1295	5580	370	4105	330	2920	4560
Victoria	54330	3615	30	3200	1365	375	240	320	890	275	1735	95	985	925
Windsor	16280	370	15	305	225	455	440	1285	390	160	410	35	15	25
Winnipeg	50190	2265	0	2465	425	315	265	295	940	100	1280	130	1370	1605
Non-CMA	780535	49775	5185	53890	23070	24305	22695	21215	117035	17120	40410	21980	13915	18580

Table A.3b

Intermetropolitan Migrants Aged 5 Years and Over, Census Metropolitan Areas, 1986-1991 – concluded

CMA in 1991	CMA in 1986														
	Sherbrooke	St. Catharine Niagara	St. John's	Saint John	Sudbury	Thunder Bay	Toronto	Trois Rivières	Vancouver	Victoria	Windsor	Winnipeg	Non-CMA	Total CMA	
Total	18125	24645	16370	11700	16235	13555	327435	13445	125700	34800	21880	69345	718160	1539310	
Calgary	45	220	405	210	280	390	8375	25	5520	1365	285	5300	51375	55245	
Chicoutimi-Jonquière	115	20	0	10	0	20	35	100	10	45	0	45	6815	4345	
Edmonton	90	300	230	85	175	230	4320	10	5180	1150	230	3335	60090	37235	
Halifax	60	90	1525	1125	85	55	3910	0	895	1030	160	475	27970	15860	
Hamilton	5	3350	135	190	455	315	24755	40	1120	245	715	865	15330	42890	
Kitchener	15	1355	275	155	455	310	17515	0	650	160	655	425	19820	31265	
London	20	945	420	85	440	315	10920	15	785	255	2190	735	23790	26390	
Montreal	6170	375	235	270	265	160	10285	4150	2085	385	1235	1115	97930	66840	
Oshawa	10	425	295	70	375	225	28215	5	440	40	305	295	11385	35475	
Ottawa-Hull	620	710	945	380	1670	435	14565	425	2850	1325	650	2270	47795	61760	
Quebec	1485	30	5	100	50	0	900	1745	210	100	20	130	37630	21620	
Regina	5	95	20	40	0	85	615	0	615	270	40	955	16115	8950	
Saskatoon	10	65	30	40	25	110	625	10	835	100	10	970	22065	9405	
Sherbrooke	0	40	0	0	30	0	155	445	30	0	90	60	11425	6535	
St. Catharines-Niagara	25	0	75	55	290	170	9915	0	415	130	310	305	9255	22330	
St. John's	0	25	0	65	15	20	1345	10	225	60	20	50	13685	4320	
Saint John	35	85	70	0	10	25	665	0	80	65	20	115	7365	3730	
Sudbury	0	300	25	10	0	205	3505	5	205	30	145	205	10900	7965	
Thunder Bay	15	165	5	5	130	0	1015	0	190	55	35	790	5840	4325	
Toronto	305	5485	2520	1355	2765	1635	0	75	11625	1155	4085	6965	74690	137755	
Trois Rivières	310	0	0	0	0	0	20	0	20	5	0	20	10040	4980	
Vancouver	150	645	575	305	185	675	18585	55	0	8780	420	9680	73100	92520	
Victoria	55	215	230	135	55	255	4165	0	9200	0	130	1700	24140	30190	
Windsor	0	330	70	30	145	70	2995	0	285	95	0	250	7875	8405	
Winnipeg	30	180	200	45	80	945	2845	35	2105	455	110	0	31720	18470	
Non-CMA	8555	9200	8075	6930	8240	6915	157180	6290	80150	17500	10030	32310	0	780535	

Source: 1991 Census of Canada, *Mobility and Migration*, Catalogue No. 93-322, Table 2C.

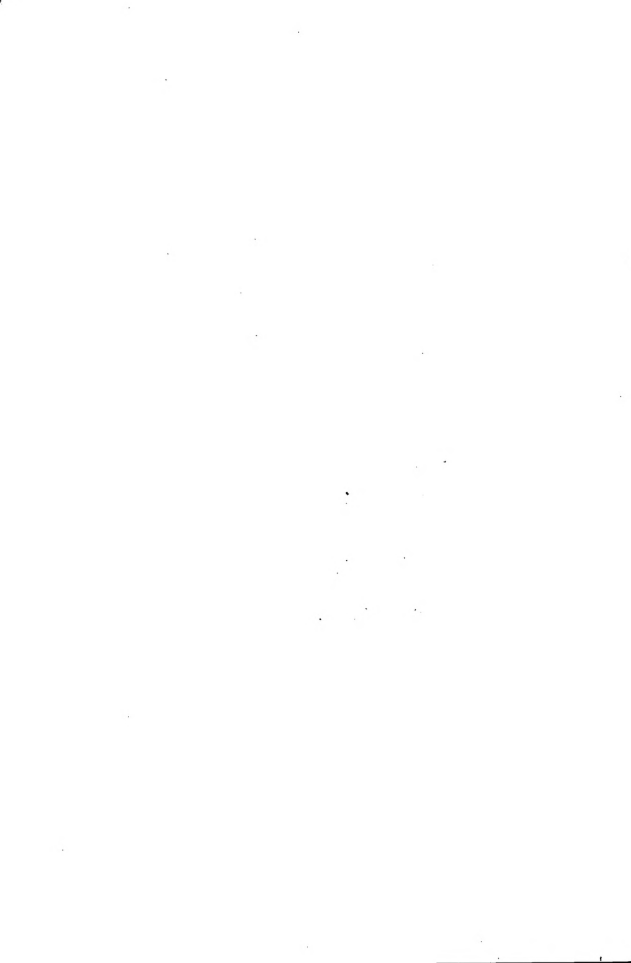




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